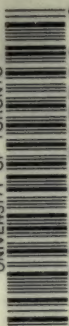


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01595526 3

DC  
37  
A33  
v.1  
Roba







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



THE  
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE YEAR 1790

TO

THE PEACE CONCLUDED AT AMIENS IN 1802.

---

---


By JOHN ADOLPHUS, Esq. F.S.A.

---

---

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR GEORGE KEARSLEY, FLEET-STREET;

BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITE-FRIARS.

---

1803.

THE

# HISTORY OF FRANCE

FROM

THE YEAR 1790

DC

37

A33

V.1

THE PLACE CONSULTED AT AMIENS IN 1803

BY JOHN ADOLPHUS, ESQ. F.R.S.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR GEORGE ALLEN, 11, FLEET STREET.

ALBION, LONDON, 1803.

1803.



## PREFACE.

---

CIRCUMSTANCES which I could neither foresee nor prevent have retarded during several months the publication of these volumes ; and I regret to add, that the delay has not contributed to render them more worthy the attention of the reader than they would have been if more early completed.

If this statement were designed to apologise for any gross or glaring defect, I should expect to meet with the fate to which such efforts to disarm the justice of criticism are justly entitled. But I am perfectly willing to abide the censure of my judges on all points which relate to the material objects of my task, such as information, industry, and candour ; and intreat their lenity only towards such faults in composition and connection as may be perceived in a work frequently interrupted, and pursued with an attention less concentrated than was requisite to its perfect execution.

Comprising so many and so great events within so small a compass, little space has been bestowed on reflection.

reflection or description. It has been my chief endeavour to collect facts, to arrange them clearly, and place them in such a view that the observations to which they give rise may seem rather to originate in the mind of the reader than to flow from the author. The enumeration of authorities I have often considered necessary, not only as a voucher for my own fidelity, but as a direction to those who were desirous of more copious information.

On the whole, judging this work by a comparison with those which have appeared on the same subject in French or English, I am not without hope that the candid reader will find a more compact, correct, and copious body of information than has yet been presented. That it is far from perfect will not form a charge against it in the minds of liberal judges, when they consider all the impediments to the attainment of perfection in such a labour.

In submitting this production to the public, I do not aspire to the highest praise, but shall be perfectly satisfied if those who formed a favourable opinion of my talents in consequence of my former publications are not induced to retract them on the perusal of this.



# CONTENTS

OF THE

## FIRST VOLUME.

### *Chapter the First.*

Page

**S**TATE of the public mind in France—General distrust—Disaffection of the military—Revolt at Nancy—Quelled by the firmness of Monsieur de Bouillé—Gallantry of Desfilles—Influence of the clubs—the Jacobins—Club of Quatre-vingt-neuf—Characters of Barnave and the Lameths—Club of Cordeliers—Characters of Marat—Danton—Anacharfis Clootz—Herbert—Saint Huruge—Camille Desmoulins—Fabre d'Eglantine—Increasing licentiousness of the people—Martial law decreed—Publication of the red book—Resignation and retreat of Necker 1

### *Chapter the Second.*

Dangers to which the government was exposed—Conduct of the duke of Orleans—Mirabeau—Report of the Chatelet on the fifth of October—Adherence of the assembly to the family compact—Mutiny at Brest—Change of ministry—Complaints respecting Lorraine and Alsace—Efforts for acquiring Avignon—Persecution of the clergy—New oath devised—Reluctantly sanctioned by the king—Some priests take

	Page
the oath—The ecclesiastics in the assembly refuse— All the bishops, except three, and vast numbers of priests, deprived of their livings—The king's aunts leave France—Conduct of Mirabeau—His junction with the court—His project for restoring to the king a due portion of authority—A mob assail the palace —Discussions respecting the king's authority—On re- straining popular societies—On laws respecting emi- gration—Attack on the castle of Vincennes—The king's friends disarmed and maltreated by La Fayette —Increased exertions of Mirabeau—The king ill— Regency established—Residence of public function- aries decreed—Illness and death of Mirabeau—Public honours paid to him—His character	20

*Chapter the Third.*

Difficulties in supplying vacancies in the church—Gobet made bishop of Paris—Persecution of the nonjurors and their adherents—The pope's bulls declared invalid—Church plate sent to the mint—Voltaire and Rousseau placed in the Pantheon—Projects in favour of the king—He is prevented from going to St. Cloud—La Fayette resigns, but resumes the command of the national guard—The king advised by the Lameths—Writes a letter to foreign courts declaring his approbation of the revolution—Its effect—Self-denying decrees of the assembly—Law authorising the soldiers to attend the Jacobin club—Increasing indignities offered to the king—Diversities of opinions among his friends—Divisions of the opposition party—Cabal



# CONTENTS.

Page

—Cabal formed at the house of Roland de la Platiere	
—Characters of him and his wife—The royal family escape from Paris—Are arrested at Varennes—Monsieur escapes—Acts of the assembly—Agitation in the city—Progress of the royal family—Murder of M. de Dampierre—Commissioners appointed by the assembly to attend the royal family to Paris—Their examination decreed—The king's authority suspended—Reception of the royal family in Paris—The king and queen make declarations of the motives of their flight—M. de Bouillé's letter—Exertions to obtain the king's deposition—He is strictly confined—Report of the committee—Decree specifying the cases in which the king should be deemed to have abdicated the throne—Resolution on the report of the committees that he shall not be brought to trial—but he is suspended from his functions till the completion of the constitution—Petition of the Jacobins—Riot in the Champ de Mars—Martial law proclaimed—Decree against insurrection—Revision of the constitution—It is accepted by the king—General amnesty—The constitution proclaimed—Dissolution and character of the assembly	56

## *Chapter the Fourth.*

Examination of the views and conduct of foreign powers towards France—M. de Montmorin's plan of pretended hostility—Project at Mantua—Rejected by Louis XVI. and the queen—Imaginary plots fabricated by their enemies—Supposed treaty of Pavia—Conference at Pilnitz—Its effects—Meeting of the

	Page
new national assembly—First proceedings—General character—The king opens the session—Projects of the popular party—Change of ministry—The king's efforts to recal the emigrants—Decree of the assembly against them—Sanction refused—Decrees against the nonjuring clergy—Sanction also refused—Massacre at Avignon—Insurrections and massacres at St. Domingo—Relief afforded by lord Effingham—Ingratitude of the assembly—Exertions to occasion a war—Complaints against the electors of Mentz and Treves—Message to the king—Address of Anacharsis Clootz—The king's speech to the assembly—Address of thanks—Encouragement given by the French legislature to the emigrants and disaffected persons of other nations—The French emigrants dismissed from Treves and Worms—Conduct of Sweden, Russia, and Spain—Letter of the emperor of Germany—Brissot's speech—Condorcet's manifesto—Petion elected mayor of Paris—Establishment and suppression of the club of Feuillans—General contempt of the legislators	95

*Chapter the Fifth.*

Examination of the real views of the supposed republican party—Character of Brissot—Roland—Madame Roland—General characteristics—Character of Condorcet—Petion—Danton—Chabot—Merlin—Bazire and others—Robespierre—Formation of a separate party—Attempt of the duke of Orleans to be reconciled with the king—Its failure—Difference of opinion

nion between Robespierre and Brissot respecting war—Views of Brissot in urging hostilities—Dispatch from prince Kaunitz to the French ambassador at Vienna—Decree against all who should attempt to alter the constitution—Address to the king to urge hostilities—His answer—Progress of negotiation—Death of the emperor Leopold—Resignations of ministers—The Jacobin administration formed—Dumouriez minister for foreign affairs—His character—De Graves minister at war—The remaining members of the cabinet selected by them and other Jacobins—Lacoste minister of marine—and Duranton minister of justice—Their characters—Claviere minister of finance—His character—Roland minister of the interior—Dumouriez and Degraives pay homage to the Jacobins—Murder of the king of Sweden—War declared against the emperor—General want of subordination in France—Tumultuous scenes in the assembly—Unlimited power of mobs and clubs—Covert attacks on the constitution—Apparent cordiality between the king and his ministers—Malignant insinuations of madame Roland—Schism in the cabinet—Plan of the campaign—Theobald Dillon marches to attack Tournay—His troops fly at the approach of the Austrians—and barbarously murder him and colonel Berthois—Event of the expedition under Biron—La Fayette advances to Givet—but remains inactive—Effect of these events in Paris—Rochambeau resigns his command—Is succeeded by Luckner—Degraives retires from the office of minister

nister of war—Is succeeded by Servan—His character—Dumouriez projects a new plan of operations—The Austrians take Bavay—La Fayette applies for a reinforcement, which is refused—Various attacks—Gouvion killed—Unsuccessful operations of Carle—Failure of the second project of campaign	Page 133
--	-------------

*Chapter the Sixth.*

Calumnies against the royal family—Pretended Austrian committee—Argument of Brissot—Fury of the people—Views of the factious—Efforts of the king's friends—Mission of Mallet du Pan, and proposed manifesto—Confirmed division in the ministry—Exertions of the popular faction—Formation of the constitutional guard—Denounced by Bazire—Manœuvres of Roland, Servan, and Claviere—Opposed by Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon—Roland procures a new decree against nonjuring priests—and for forming a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris—The king refuses his sanction to both—Madame Roland's insolent letter—Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed—New ministry—Examination of the conduct of Dumouriez—The ejected ministers write to the assembly—Decree in their favour—Visit of Dumouriez to the assembly—His reception and magnanimous behaviour—His treachery towards the king—New ministry—Plots of the Jacobins—Plans of the royalists—Letter from La Fayette to the assembly—Proceedings there—and at the Jacobin club—Letter from La Fayette to the king—Examination of that



# CONTENTS.

xv

Page

that general's conduct—Arrival of the Marseillois in Paris—Preparations for an insurrection—Its commencement—Armed petitioners admitted to the assembly—Their petition—and procession—They break into the palace—Heroic behaviour of the king—queen—and princess Elizabeth—Conduct of the assembly—and of Petion—The palace cleared—False account given by Petion to the legislature—General indignation—Proclamation—Despondency of the king—Exertions of the factious—Indignation of the army—La Fayette's ineffectual visit to the assembly—and departure in disgrace—Camp at Soissons voted—Preparations for a motion by Brissot—Abjuration of republicanism and aristocracy by the whole assembly—The members agree to forget all quarrels—The king received with unusual acclamations—New topics of dissension assiduously promoted—Suspension of Petion and Manuel—The king offers to refer their conduct to the assembly—who refuse the reference—Brissot's speech to prove that the king had forfeited the crown—Referred to a committee—Report—and resignation of the ministers—The king confirms the suspension of Petion and Manuel—Which is removed by the assembly—The directory of the department resign—Arrival of fédérés with incendiary petitions—Rumours of plots—Confederation - - - -

170

## *Chapter the Seventh.*

The king of Prussia joins with the emperor—They prepare to invade France—Manifesto proposed by M. Mallet

Mallet du Pan—Plots of the faction in Paris—Petition  
 of the fédérés—Different views of the factious—Peti-  
 tions for deposing the king—State of the army—  
 Luckner's visit to Paris—His letter to the assembly—  
 False charge against La Fayette—Disproved—Re-  
 cruits enrolled—Further manœuvres of the factious  
 —Proceedings of the allied armies—Manifesto of the  
 duke of Brunswick—Its effects—The garden of the  
 Tuilleries shut—M. de Espreménil assaulted—Pro-  
 ceedings of the assembly—Arrival and conduct of the  
 Marseillois—Sagacious decrees of the assembly in  
 favour of Prussian and Austrian deserters—The king's  
 letter on the duke of Brunswick's manifesto—Petition  
 of the commune for his deposition—Proceedings of  
 the section of Mauconseil—Petitions from all the  
 sections of Paris—Arts used to influence the people  
 —Preparations for an insurrection—Last court-day  
 at the Tuilleries—Negotiations of the king's friends  
 with Brissot and Santerre—Petition of the fédérés—  
 All petitions referred to the committee of twelve—  
 Events of the 10th of August—The king deposed—  
 Separated from his attendants—Exposition of motives  
 —The royal family confined in the Temple—Repub-  
 lican exertions in Paris—State of the army—First  
 proceedings of the allies—Conduct of Arthur Dillon  
 on the deposition of the king—Crafty conduct of  
 Dumouriez—Rash and feeble proceedings of La  
 Fayette—He runs away, and is taken prisoner—  
 Dumouriez commands the army—Progress of the  
 allies—Investment of Thionville—Capture of Longwy  
 —Verdun



—Verdun—The invaders approach Chalons—Measures of defence taken by Dumouriez—Consternation in Paris—The British ambassador withdrawn—Le Brun's letter to him—Declamations against the king of France—and kings in general—Jean de Brie's motion to engage a corps of regicides—Thomas Paine and others made French citizens—Terror of Roland—Views of Danton—Numerous arrests—and horrible massacre in the prisons—Murder of the princess de Lamballe—Cruel device of the mob to insult the king and queen—General contempt of the legislative assembly—Insolence of the commune—Progress of the elections for the national convention—Assassinations and robberies in Paris—The Garde Meuble de la Couronne plundered—Dissolution and general character of the legislative assembly	- - -	211
--	-------	-----

*Chapter the Eighth.*

Meeting, general character, and power, of the national convention—Parties—Danton—Robespierre—Roland—Barbaroux—Names assumed by the parties—First proceedings of the convention—The right side foiled in two motions—Collot d'Herbois moves the abolition of royalty—which is decreed—Military transactions—Position of Dumouriez—Impediments and mistakes of the allies—Distress of the Prussian army—Interview between prince Hohenlohe and general Duval—Dumouriez changes his position—His conferences with colonel Manstein—Preparations for battle—Sudden retreat of the invaders—Rapid success

	Page
success of Custine—War declared against the king of Sardinia—Rapid conquest of Savoy—which is an- nexed to the French republic—Dispute with Geneva —Adjustment—Impeachment and flight of general Montefquieu—Conquest of Nice—Pillage of Cagliari —Dumouriez in Paris—He is insulted by Marat— Attends the Jacobin club—Commences operations in Flanders—Battle of Gemappe—Conquest of Flanders —Plunder of the inhabitants—Decree for opening the Scheldt—and violating the neutrality of Holland— Decree for encouraging and assisting rebels in all countries—Deputations of English Jacobins kindly re- ceived—Hostilities in the convention—Roland de- nounces the massacres of September—Rebecqui and others attack Marat—Louvet's attack on Robespierre —Roland and many members of the right side ex- pelled the Jacobin club—Paper war—Robespierre's superiority	269

*Chapter the Ninth.*

Exertions of the Mountain to procure the trial of Louis XVI.—Account of the imprisonment of the royal family—Watched by brutal commissioners—Abolition of royalty announced—Faithful services of Clery—Daily insults offered to the royal family—Efforts in the convention—Petitions from the Jacobin club and affiliated societies—Violent speeches of the Mountain party—Feeble opposition of the Gironde—Reports of Valazé—and Mailhé—Exertions in the king's behalf—Discovery of an iron closet in the Tuilleries—Conduct

duët of Roland—Rapid proceedings of the regicides —Robespierre moves to condemn the king without a trial—His trial before the convention decreed—Pre- paration of documents—Arrangements for the trial— Further insults on the royal family—The king sum- moned to the bar of the convention—His protest— His progress to the hall of the convention—Debates previous to his arrival—His appearance—and inter- rogatory—He is separated from his family—Counsel allowed him—Tronchet and Malesherbes appointed— De Seze added—The king's defence prepared—He makes his will—He is again brought before the con- vention—His defence read—His address to the con- vention—Judgment delayed—Fury of the Jacobins— Arrangement of the questions to be decided—The king voted guilty, and sentenced to death, without an appeal—Arts used to obtain a majority—Conduct of Egalité—The king's letter to the convention—His sentence notified—His last requests—part granted and part refused—M. Edgeworth, his confessor, attends him—His last interview with his family—He receives the sacrament—His progress to the place of execution —last words—and murder—General consternation —His burial—Observations on his character	300
--	-----

*Chapter the Tenth.*

State of France after the murder of the king—Conduct of Dumouriez—Effect of the proceedings of the French in Belgium—Pacific conduct of Great Britain —Encouragement afforded by France to English re- volutionists—
--

	Page
<p>           revolutionists—Attack on Dutch Flanders decreed—            The French ambassador ordered to leave London—            War declared against the king of England and the            stadtholder of the United Provinces—Pretended ne-            gotiations—Progress of Dumouriez—The French de-            feated by general Clerfaye at Aix-la-Chapelle—Their            subsequent ill success—Alarm in Paris—Failure at            Cagliari—Subsequent transactions in Flanders—Battle            of Tirlemont—The French retreat from Flanders—            Jealousies excited against the generals—Defection of            Dumouriez—His addresses—attempts to secure the            adherence of the army—and flight—He and his at-            tendants are outlawed—Egalité denounced and im-            prisoned—Dreadful aspect of French affairs—Progress            of the contest between the Mountain and the Brissotines            —Conspiracy of the 10th of March—Brissot's print-            ing-office destroyed—A play called <i>L'Ami des Loix</i>            suppressed—Frequent petitions and addresses—Forma-            tion of a committee of twelve—and of the revolu-            tionary tribunal—Exertions of Marat against the Bris-            sotines—They are denounced by Robespierre—Efforts            of Marat on that occasion—Guadet obtains a decree            of accusation against him—Imprudence of Guadet's            party—The cause of Marat vehemently espoused by            the Mountain—His acquittal before the revolutionary            tribunal—and triumphant return to the convention            —Petition for the expulsion of twenty-two members            —decreed calumnious—Timid conduct of the Bris-            sotines—Petition from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine—            Increasing influence of the Mountain—Brissot's address         </p>	to



to his constituents—Henriot made commander of the national guard—Hebert arrested—The committee of twelve prepare a report—Injudicious boast of Isnard—Insurrection on the 31st of May—Le Brun and madame Roland arrested—Proceedings on the 1st of June—Insurrection renewed—Claviere arrested—Violent address to the convention—The hall surrounded by an armed force—Arrestation of twenty-one members decreed—The insurrection ended - 337

*Chapter the Eleventh.*

Insubordination of the armies—Dampierre succeeds Dumouriez—Condé blockaded—Intrenchments of St. Amand forced—Dampierre killed—Succeeded by Custine—The camp of Famars taken—The Dutch defeated near Turcoing—Siege of Valenciennes formed—The French surprise and plunder Furnes—They are defeated at Ypres—Surrender of Condé—Progress of the siege of Valenciennes—Its surrender—Effects of these events in Paris—Imprisonment of the English residing there—The king of Prussia besieges Landau and Mentz—The siege of Landau converted into a blockade—The French plunder Arlon—Siege and capitulation of Mentz—Custine thrown into prison—Reluctance of Spain to declare war—The French commence hostilities—Don Ricardos captures St. Laurent and Bellegarde—And besieges Perpignan—Skirmishes in the Western Pyrenées—The Spaniards obtain several successes—The French burn Zugurramurdy—and plunder Lussaide—The Spaniards

Spaniards storm the camp at Château Pignon—Slight exploits of the armies of the Alps and Italy—Symptoms of insurrection in many parts of the republic—Origin of discontents in La Vendée—Rapid success of the insurgents—They take Fontenay—Efforts and disappointment of the fugitive Brissotines at Caen—Further proceedings of the insurgents in La Vendée—They fail before Nantes—Slight successes of the republicans under Biron and Westermann—Followed by a total defeat—Great prosperity of the insurgents—Transactions at Lyons—Challier and Riaud sentenced to death by the insurgents—Insurrection at Marseilles—Speedily suppressed—Lord Hood appears in the Mediterranean—Negociates for, and obtains the surrender of, Toulon—Tobago, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and part of St. Domingo, taken by the English—Pondicherry and other places in India taken—A new constitution formed—Observations on it—Its acceptance celebrated by a fête—Its operations suspended—Powers of the committee of public safety—System of terror—Rigour against suspected persons—All Englishmen and subjects of hostile nations arrested—The revolutionary tribunal divided into four sections—Indignities offered to the royal family—The queen separated from the dauphin, who is placed under the tuition of Simon, a cobbler—The queen removed to the Conciergerie—Her trial and execution—Persecution of the Brissotines—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Her execution—Excessive honours paid to him—Further proceedings



	Page
proceedings of the fugitive Brissotines—Their dispersion and fate—Proceedings against those confined in Paris—Their trial—condemnation—and execution—Trial and execution of Egalité—of Rabaud St. Etienne—Manuel and others—Le Brun executed—Claviere and his wife kill themselves—Madame Roland imprisoned and executed—Her husband commits suicide—Execution of Barnave and Bailly	376

*Chapter the Twelfth.*

The convention pass many frivolous decrees—Tyranny and plunder under pretence of enforcing equality—Proceedings of the committee of instruction, for regulating weights and measures—Report on the telegraph—Decrees in favour of the arts and sciences—On public education—Exertions of the antichristian party—Marriage of Priests—New calendar—Persecution of priests—Death decreed to be an eternal sleep—Anti-religious deputations to the convention—Gobet bishop of Paris and many other ecclesiastics renounce their functions—The Goddess of Reason worshipped—Rivalry between the Jacobins and Cordeliers—Clubs of women—abolished—The Jacobins gain advantages over the Cordeliers—several of whom are imprisoned—Scarcity—Laws for establishing a maximum—baking only one sort of bread—planting more grain—Great misery of the poor—Depreciation of assignats—Extortion of government—Means used to recruit the armies—Requisitions—Decree for a *levy en masse*—Rapid manufacture of arms—Revolutionary

lutionary army—Severities exercised against generals  
 —The adherents of Dumouriez imprisoned and be-  
 headed—Fate of Custine—New system of tactics—  
 Proceedings of the allies after the capture of Valen-  
 ciennes—Spirited action at Lincelles—Dunkirk be-  
 sieged—The siege raised—Quesnoy taken—The  
 French attempt to penetrate into Flanders—Siege of  
 Maubeuge begun—and raised—Drouet taken pri-  
 soner—Further operations in Flanders—Transactions  
 of the king of Prussia's troops—The French defeated  
 at Pirmasens—The king of Prussia retires to Poland  
 —The duke of Brunswick takes Lauterbourg and  
 Weissembourg—Haguenau and several other places  
 taken—Further success of the Prussians—They fail in  
 an attempt to surprise Bitche—The French reinforced  
 —The Prussians compelled to retreat across the Rhine  
 —Alternate success of the French and Spaniards in  
 the Eastern Pyrenées—Unimportant proceedings in  
 the Western Pyrenées—Success of the armies of the  
 Alps and Italy under Massena—Insurrection in several  
 places suppressed—Proscriptions and oppressions—  
 Proceedings in La Vendée—Factions in the Royal  
 and Catholic army—The garrisons of Valenciennes,  
 Mentz, and Condé, sent into La Vendée—The repub-  
 licans defeated at Montaigu—The royalists fail before  
 Doué and Thouars—Santerre and Duhoux defeated  
 —but the republicans gain many advantages—take  
 Chatillon—Bloody engagement under the walls of  
 Chollet—Several royalist chiefs mortally wounded—  
 The army under the prince de Talmont crosses the  
 Loire—

Loire—Charrette takes Noirmontier—The prince de Talmont takes Laval—Retreats to Dol—Disappointed of succours from England—The royalists utterly defeated at Mans—A portion of fugitives defeated at Savenay—Cruelties exercised in La Vendée—Bourdeaux—Siege and surrender of Lyons—Decree for razing the city—Excessive cruelties—Impious fête in honour of Challier—Murders at Marseilles—Proceedings against Toulon—Insufficiency of the garrison—Frequent affairs of posts—General O'Hara taken prisoner—The French gain possession of the heights—Evacuation of Toulon—Partial destruction of the French fleet—Exultation in Paris—Fête in celebration of the victories—Improved aspect of affairs - 413

*Chapter the Thirteenth.*

Efforts of the allies to prevent supplies from being afforded to France—Consequent disputes with Tuscany and Genoa—L'Imperieuse seized at Leghorn—The Modeste seized at Genoa—Insurrection at Corsica—Ineffectual attempt of commodore Linzee to aid the insurgents—After the evacuation of Toulon, lord Hood attacks Corsica—Takes Mortella—Fornilly—San Fiorenzo—Bastia—and Calvi—Corsica annexed to the crown of Great Britain—New constitution for that island—Claims advanced by Genoa—Exertions of France to raise a marine force—They take one frigate and several merchant ships—Several frigates captured by the English—Proceedings of lord Howe—Partial engagements with the Brest fleet—General

VOL. I. C engagement

engagement and defeat of the French fleet—False narratives given in the convention—The English take Martinique—Sainte Lucie—Les Saintes—and Guadaloupe—Proceedings in Saint Domingo—Port-au-prince taken—Preparations for the campaign on the frontier of France—Pichegru heads the army of the north—The duke of York after arranging a plan of campaign goes to Valenciennes—Jealousies between the emperor and the king of Prussia—Proclamation of the emperor—Opposed by the king of Prussia—He orders his troops to be withdrawn—But at length permits them to remain—The emperor takes the chief command—Landrecies besieged—Pichegru attempts to raise the siege—Is defeated—Takes the post of Moucron—Courtray and Menin taken—Landrecies taken—Pichegru changes his plan—Frequent engagements—Efforts to expel the French from Flanders—Battles at Turcoing—and Pont Achin—Valour of the English troops—Decree of the convention for giving them no quarter—The French several times pass the Sambre and are repulsed—But gain great advantages in other quarters—The people of Flanders shew symptoms of disloyalty—The French take Ypres—Bruges—Tournay—and Dinan—Battle of Fleurus—The French take Charleroi—Arrival of the earl of Moira—who with difficulty joins the duke of York—Rapid success of the French—Transactions on the Rhine—The French surprised at Kaiferflautern—Battle of Edikhoffen—The allies evacuate the French territory—The republicans invade the electorate of Treves 466



# CONTENTS.

xxvii

Page

## *Chapter the Fourteenth.*

Cruelty of government—Massacres in the departments  
 —Cruelties of Carrier in La Vendée—Priests, women,  
 and children, massacred—Republican marriages—  
 Barbarities in other departments—View of Paris—  
 Robespierre's report in the revolutionary government  
 —State of the prisons—Progressive misery of the  
 captives—Spies in the prisons—The prisoners stripped  
 of their property—Peculiar cruelties to women—  
 Mode of feeding prisoners à la Gamelle—Treatment  
 of the sick—Horrors of the night—Mode of delivering  
 acts of accusation—Increased power of the revolu-  
 tionary tribunal—Persecution of particular classes of  
 men—Trial and execution of the princess Elizabeth  
 —Of M. de Maleherbes and his family—D'Estaing  
 —The duke de Biron—Thouret—D'Espremenil—  
 Ifabeau d'Yjouval—Lavoisier—Roucher—Baron  
 Trenck—Dispute between the jacobins and cordeliers  
 —Efforts of Hebert—He is imprisoned—Tried with  
 nineteen others—Condemned—His pusillanimous be-  
 haviour—Courage of Anacharsis Clootz—Their exe-  
 cution—The club of cordeliers falls into insignificance  
 —Bazire, Julian of Thoulouse, Fabre d'Eglantine,  
 Camille Desmoulins, Danton, and some others, ar-  
 rested—Their conduct in prison—trial—condemna-  
 tion—and execution—The widow of Camille Des-  
 moulins suffers death, with general Arthur Dillon  
 and Gobet—Observations on the views and fate of  
 Danton and Camille Desmoulins—Robespierre's  
 exertions

exertions against atheism—A supreme Being and the  
 immortality of the soul acknowledged—but an idola-  
 trous system of worship established—Attempt to as-  
 sassinate Collot d'Herbois—Pretended attempt on  
 Robespierre—The assassins, with sixty supposed ac-  
 complices, put to death—Robespierre president of the  
 convention—Festival in honour of the Supreme Being  
 —Popularity of Robespierre—Abject homage paid to  
 him—Opposition begun in the convention—Views of  
 Robespierre—He absents himself from the committee  
 of public safety—Increased cruelty of government—  
 Enormous expences—Great scarcity—Preparations  
 for a great exertion—Proceedings in the convention  
 on a speech made by Robespierre—His reception at  
 the jacobin club—Saint-Just attempts reading a speech  
 in the convention—Contest between Robespierre and  
 his opponents—He and several of his partisans ar-  
 rested—They are rescued—Surround the convention  
 with an armed force—The convention outlaw Robes-  
 pierre and his adherents—They are attacked in the  
 hotel de Ville—Taken prisoners—Robespierre griev-  
 ously wounded—His agony—He and his adherents  
 sentenced to death—Their progress to the guillotine  
 —and execution—Seventy-two members of the com-  
 mune also executed without trial.        -        -



## INTRODUCTION.

---

IN all periods of that momentous era, distinguished by the name of the French Revolution, great varieties of opinion have been entertained, not more on the nature and quality of particular acts, than on the general circumstances from which so mighty an event could derive its origin. Among the many causes which have been assigned, some are too remote and fantastic to merit attention; such as the assertion of Pages \*, that the invention of the compass and of printing had contributed to the French revolution, by diffusing science, and increasing the love of adventure; others are problematical, as the remark of Montjoye †, that the discouragement of monastic vows, and want of a bloody war, had occasioned a redundant population; and the judgment of Necker ‡, that the glory attending some periods of the reign of Louis XIV. had left in the minds of Frenchmen a permanent

\* *Histoire secrète de la Révolution*, t. I. p. 266.

† *Eloge historique et funèbre de Louis XVI.* p. 71.

‡ *On the Revolution*, vol. I. p. 5.

love of admiration, and an incessant necessity for all ranks of people to make appeals to public opinion.

Several other causes have been assigned with more plausibility, and perhaps with little hazard of contradiction, as to their existence and operation; but their importance has been over-rated in considering them as primary causes, when, in fact, they were merely subordinate, and owed their influence over the public mind to the artful and malignant uses to which they were applied. The origin, character, and progress of the French revolution may with the smallest probability of error be ascribed to a faction long nourished in the academies and cities of France, and other continental dominions, connected with numerous societies through all parts of Europe, meditating a total change in manners, laws, and the course of public worship, and projecting an entirely new distribution of power among nations, with a general overthrow of all established authorities. The existence of such a sect is rendered indisputable by the researches of modern authors \*, and their views and machinations were discerned long before they began to take effect, by various persons, and particularly by an illustrious traveller of our own nation, who in 1765 left an authentic and precise state-

\* Particularly the abbé Barruel, and professor Robison.

ment which has since been in a most remarkable manner verified \*.

The writers and reasoners attached to this party succeeded in rendering religion ridiculous, and afterwards odious; from the abuses of popery, and the personal characters of some priests, they proceeded to a systematical attack on mysteries and miracles, and from these to the very existence of a God. Their assaults were varied, according to the disposition of the parties they were desirous to convince; and where a total triumph over religious sentiment could not be obtained, they contented themselves with inferior conquests, knowing that every schism among the supporters of revelation, and the establishments founded on it, strengthened the general interests of the party whose aim was directed against both establishment and revelation. In this part of their attempt they met with speedy and conspicuous success, and thus prepared their way for further attainments.

The attack on governments was managed with more caution, since all nations have prudently confided to their rulers other powers for suppressing attempts against their authority than those which in modern times have been committed to the votaries of religion. Governments were therefore covertly assailed, by general declamations in favour

\* See Lord Orford's Works, vol. V. p. 122.



of liberty, by the ostentatious production and repetition of offensive parts of modern history, and by continual contrasts of the present with times past, or the system under which these speculists lived with that of other nations possessed of greater freedom and happiness.

In France, the writings of a band who assumed the title of economists, spread general discontent, and inspired a great eagerness to increase the wealth and diminish the burthens of the nation by a rigid and indiscriminate saving. This sect carried, by their exhortations and essays, schemes of agricultural speculation into the fields, and of commercial and pecuniary fraud into the cities; they rendered the people jealous of every species of public reward, and repugnant to every mode of taxation. All exemptions were loudly decried, and the maintenance of the clergy was considered an enormous political evil; seignorial rights were reprobated no less as indications of slavery, than as impediments to good husbandry; and the expences of the court were regarded with peculiar malignity as an ostentatious and useless mode of squandering the treasure of the people.

The maxims of these sects were destined to commence their active operation during the reign of Louis XVI. and it was a remarkable fatality, that the virtues and errors of this amiable and unhappy prince equally contributed to his overthrow.

Every



Every circumstance of his reign, which, according to the calculations of probability, should have given stability to his dominion, tended to its dissolution and his own destruction. His zeal in economical reform, while it diminished the state burthens, and was even supposed sufficient to absorb the expences of a war without new taxes, tended only to weaken his power by diminishing his influence, and removing from the eyes of his people the splendid pageantry in which they so much delighted; while it left their views and desires of relief from burthens ungratified, and authorised them, from a consideration of what was suppressed, to cavil at that which remained.

His marriage, which it was supposed would suppress all rivalry between France and Austria, subjected his conduct to the most cruel censures and unfounded suspicions; and far from removing the causes of antipathy, brought them nearer to his person, by affording to his enemies constant means of suggesting, that in the cabinet the queen's influence established a party which was to favour her native country at the expence of France.

But the greatest and most important error in the king's conduct was his espousing the cause of the Americans in their revolt against Great Britain. The defects in the constitution of France, though numerous and glaring, might have been remedied, and an excellent social system in time formed by  
the

the adoption of some parts of the English code ; but without intending any such attempt, the French government treacherously acknowledged the independence of America, and sent their fleets and armies to the support of subjects disavowing their king, and of a congress professedly attempting to found a republic, in which neither titles, hereditary functions, nor an established priesthood should find a place. Nor were the individuals to be employed better selected than the cause in which they were embarked. The command of fleets and armies was not given to men of long established character and tried allegiance, but to individuals whose misconduct in former wars had rendered them objects of suspicion, or whose youth and inexperience, joined to presumption, and an overweening self-importance, would render them on their return turbulent, factious, and dangerous.

The conduct of finance was at the same time entrusted to an empiric minister, an alien to the land, an enemy to its religion, and a republican by birth. He confirmed in the people the habit of examining by general principles and garbled statements alone, the expences and revenues of the state ; and when dismissed, his errors and his artifices had equally contributed to involve his successor in difficulty and danger. Thus the American war, producing to France no political benefit, left her plunged in debt and speculation, open to all  
the

the attempts of financial projectors, the reveries of political reformers, and the attacks of the anti-religious, and anti-monarchical party.

A centre and supplies are ever the great requisites of a political faction which aims at important achievements; and these were found in Paris, in the wealth, rank, profligacy, and turbulence of the duke of Orleans. This man, himself a member of the royal family, nourished in his heart a rancorous antipathy against the reigning branch. Regardless of character, and yet ambitious of fame, he was surrounded by profligate companions and literary parasites, who led him with rapid steps to promote the aims of the religious and social innovators. Thus, during the years which followed the peace and preceded the revolution, political parties both male and female were formed in Paris, and throughout the provinces, proposing particular reforms, or general alterations; some were affectedly derived from the societies of free-masonry, of which the duke of Orleans was elected grand-master; others pretended only to charitable ends or philosophical enquiries. Publications of more than usual audacity were profusely circulated; and the customary restraints of government were superseded or rendered unimportant by ridicule and perseverance.

The opposition made by the parliament of Paris, the inundation of pamphlets on all subjects, the scarcity of bread, which irritated and alarmed the

the



the people ; the mobs raised on every occasion, and threatening the most frantic violences ; the tumultuous proceedings of the national assembly ; the seduction of the soldiery ; the undisguised resistance to authority ; and the manœuvres, clamours, and calumnies against the king and queen, which preceded the 14th of July, 1789 ; may in a great measure be ascribed to the influence of the duke of Orleans, though his subordinate agents, or venal mercenaries, often stood recorded as the only projectors and perpetrators of the acts \*.

Foreign nations regarded these great events with astonishment, but with various degrees of sympathy, proportioned to the nature of their own governments, or their apprehensions of the ultimate result. In England, the gallantry displayed in overthrowing the Bastille, the attempt to establish a free constitution, founded on a trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, could not fail to meet general applause. The cruelties which followed the destruction of that hated fortress, though they made a strong impression, were generously imputed to popular error, and rather deplored than severely censured ; but the subsequent plunder and burning of chateaux in the provinces, and the murder, and even torture, of their owners, could by no arts be so palliated as to meet general sanction. The plunder of the privileged classes, and indeed of all landed proprietors, by

\* For a detail of causes of the French revolution, see *Nouveaux Intérêts de l'Europe*, chap. i.



the decree of the 4th of August, 1789, and those which followed against the lands and revenues of the clergy, gave alarm to all men who seriously viewed the nature of property, and saw with how much facility the arguments which rendered that robbery popular might be applied by the needy in any country to every kind of acquisition. The transactions of the 5th and 6th of October were viewed with still greater horror and regret: those who were content to see the authority of the French monarch abridged, were shocked at the unprincipled ferocity and brutality with which his degradation to the state of a captive was precipitated; nor could all the arts of palliation, nor all the untruths profusely published in vindication of these events, alter the well-founded opinion of their moral enormity, and political portent. The opinion at first rashly and benevolently entertained, that oppression had driven a loyal and long-suffering people to resistance, gradually yielded to a conviction of their insatiable love of blood and plunder, and to a demonstration that their own complaints or grievances did not form the ground of their efforts, but that they were mischievous tools in the hands of a desperate faction, and that their dishonesty and cruelty were the principal engines to be used in reducing the court and the kingdom to passive subjection, through the double terrors of poverty and assassination.

Still,

Still, when by a temporary exertion of firmness La Fayette had occasioned the retreat of the duke of Orleans, a state of moderate tranquillity ensued which seemed to augur better days ; but this happy prospect was again clouded by the rashness and folly of Bailly, who in proposing the solemn foppery of a confederation revived the means and motives of insurrection, and afforded an opportunity for the leader of the principal faction to revisit France. Even the day of confederation would have been marked by disastrous events, had sufficient time remained after the return of the duke ; but, besides the want of preparation in his party, the zeal of the *fédérés* from the departments, and particularly those of Breton, presented so strong a barrier about the throne, that a momentary exertion of force could not have shaken it ; and the seduction of so large and loyal a body could not be effected without leisure for concerting the means.

---

---

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FRANCE.

---

CHAPTER I.

*State of the public Mind in France—General Distrust—Disaffection of the Military—Revolt at Nancy—Quelled by the Firmness of Monsieur de Bouillé—Gallantry of Desilles—Influence of the Clubs—the Jacobins—Club of Quatre-vingt-neuf—Characters of Barnave and the Lameths—Club of Cordeliers—Characters of Marat—Danton—Anacharsis Clootz—Herbert—Saint Huruge—Camille Desmoulins—Fabre d'Eglantine—Increasing Licentiousness of the People—Martial Law decreed—Publication of the Red-book—Resignation and Retreat of Necker.*

---

---

IN the solemn oath by which the French had recently bound themselves, the credulous thought they beheld the return of domestic tranquillity; but the more penetrating anticipated only a scene of vast and unqualified perjury. Some

1790.

July 14.

CH. I.

ap-

apprehended that the sovereign would attempt to regain a portion of the authority wrested from him; and it was still more to be dreaded that his subjects would not be satisfied with the advantages they had acquired. The people heard with distrust the assurances of the prince; and while he was anxious only to preserve the little power that had been left him, the multitude were instructed to consider the rights they had asserted as precarious in their duration, unless fortified by the ruins of the throne.

The habits of obedience which had long characterised the nation were universally relaxed, the laws no longer revered, the duties of sovereignty no more regarded. The contagious spirit of revolt had been communicated to the troops; and in the intemperance of their civic feasts, and in the seductive appellation of citizens, the soldiers had renounced their military fidelity and discipline. Instead of confiding in their commanders, they were taught to complain that the tardy pay and meagre recompence of their services were detained and intercepted by the fraud and avarice of their officers; and these unjust accusations were soon made the foundation of real injuries.

Augst. The garrison of Nancy, the capital of the *ci-devant* Lorraine, was distinguished by its superior turbulence, and seditious spirit; and the regiments of which it was composed, had



had made a formal demand of certain sums of money which they asserted were due to them. The commanding officers, Messrs. Malseigne and de Noue, tried the effects of expostulation and menace; but were imprisoned by the tumultuous soldiers, who also plundered the military chest.

Hoping to secure impunity by a formidable combination, the insurgents dispatched deputies to the regiments in the neighbourhood of Paris, inviting them to the same excesses, and an association in the same cause. But before these deputies could fulfil the object of their mission, the national assembly had been apprised of the events at Nancy. Many members who had sanctioned the defection of the troops from their fidelity to the throne, heard with different emotions that they were rapidly aspiring to shake off all controul, and displayed a promptitude and vigour which they never seemed to possess when the safety of the sovereign was the object of deliberation. The deputies from the garrison of Nancy were arrested; and the marquis de Bouillé, commander-in-chief of the troops at Metz and on that frontier, was directed to march against the insurgents.

M. de Bouillé was distinguished among the few who, superior to popular applause or reproach, attached themselves to the monarch in proportion as his means of rewarding them declined; though his well-known loyalty was far from recommending him to the leaders of the popular

CH. I.  
1790.

## HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CH. I.  
1790. popular faction, they yet respected his former achievements, his enterprising valour, and that humanity which even the enemies of France loudly extolled. A considerable force was rapidly collected, and he appeared at the gates of Nancy before the mutineers were informed that he had commenced his march.

His presence produced a momentary awe; the revolted soldiers, on his summons, delivered up *messieurs* Malseigne and De Noue; but before the gates could be thrown open, with fatal levity they resumed their arms, and pointed a cannon against the troops which had advanced within thirty paces of the gates.

At this critical juncture, M. Defilles, an officer of the *regiment du Roi*, by an act of heroic enthusiasm, suspended for an instant that fury which his eloquence had been in vain exerted to allay. He threw himself before the mouth of a cannon to which the insurgents were applying the match, exclaiming, "Stop, for Heaven's sake! they are your friends, your brethren, whom you are going to destroy:" his virtue was respected; a pause ensued; a negotiation was commenced; and a hope was cherished that by the magnanimity of an individual, the lives of hundreds might be saved.

To vindicate the outraged authority of government, De Bouillé demanded that four soldiers of each mutinous regiment should be delivered up; and their punishment referred to the national assembly;

sembly ; and that the garrison should evacuate the town, and await his orders without the walls

Cr. I.

1790.

These moderate terms were rejected with insult ; the signal for attack was given ; Desilles again rushing between the opponents, fell pierced with honourable wounds\* ; and about fifty or sixty of M. de Bouillé's vanguard were killed.

The indignant troops rushing forward, were encountered with an obstinate fire from cellars, windows, and roofs of houses ; their perseverance, however, triumphed over every obstacle ; the mutineers were driven from street to street, and at length compelled to throw down their arms, after killing and wounding forty officers, and nearly four hundred privates. The Swiss regiment of Chateaufieu, which had been the last to forsake its duty, was also the last to submit, and about eighty of the privates being taken in arms, were tried by a council of war, composed of their own countrymen ; twenty were sentenced to death, and between fifty and sixty to the galleys†.

\* He however survived to enjoy the immediate admiration of his country ; and to attest afterwards in his exile her ingratitude.

† These men were liberated 31st December, 1791, by the legislative assembly, on the pretence that the amnesty for revolutionary crimes, decreed by the constituent assembly, applied to them. A festival was given in their honour, to which they were carried in a triumphant car, and a subscription made for their benefit ; and they attended in the assembly (April 9th), were received with complimentary speeches, and invited to the honours of the sitting. Debates. Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. p. 226. ; VI. p. 44. 72.

When



CH. I.

1790.

When the intelligence of these events reached Paris, the populace accused M. de Bouillé of having shed the blood of patriots, whose only crime was an ardent zeal for liberty, and threatened to march to Metz for vengeance. His head was loudly demanded, but he was protected by the attachment of his troops, and the moderation of a majority of the Parisian national guards. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of calumny, his conduct was highly applauded in letters written by the king and by La Fayette, and the national assembly publicly approving the proceedings of the general who had obeyed their orders with greater expedition and efficacy than they had reason to expect; but they would not brave the clamour of the mob by inflicting punishment on some of the rebels taken in arms\*.

For some time, however, the assembly had been sensible of an external controuling influence, which was rapidly acquiring an ascendancy over the public mind. The rage for political discussion, and the desire of arranging certain measures for debate in

\* Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 195 et seq. Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 40. It is to be observed, that in December, the assembly, on the motion of Sillery, censured the municipality of Nancy; and in the ensuing year (5th June), they decreed that the widows and children of the national guards killed at Nancy, and at the *Bastille*, should be maintained at the public expence: shewing by this association a total revolution of opinion as to the merits of this insurrection.

CH. I.  
1790.

the legislature, had induced some members at an early period of the sittings to form a society which they called *Le Club Breton*; this was at first small and select, founded by the deputies from Bretagne, but when the assembly removed to Paris, it was augmented by all the opposition parties in that body, and a great number of political adventurers and speculists. They hired, as a place of meeting, a building formerly appropriated to the religious order of the Jacobins, and by that name the society was afterwards distinguished. This club was become the centre of intrigue; it maintained extensive correspondences with affiliated societies in different parts of the kingdom, amounting, according to some reports, to two thousand, though others reduce the number to six hundred. All the provincial, or affiliated bodies, receiving their impulse from the parent society, spread insurrection and the love of licentiousness throughout the kingdom; to their sittings the soldiers were invited as the best school for insubordination; and the officers found their authority too weak to prevent their attendance. By the jacobins every measure of the legislature was either prepared or resisted; its way smoothed by petitions and acclamations, or impeded by clamour, menaces, and riots. The club also maintained communication with various foreign societies throughout Europe; and, by the influence of its members in political and literary journals, promised to spread

CH. I.

1790.

in every direction the contagion of its principles, and prepare mankind in general to acquiesce in, and even applaud, the consequences resulting from them\*. Every principal town and almost every considerable village in France, furnished an association with which the club at Paris held a regular intercourse; it listened to complaints; suggested means of redress; affected to console; and promised to chastise; but its language of consolation was reserved for those who violated, and its chastisements directed against those who supported, the laws.

When that society began to erect itself against the constituted authorities, when it proceeded to arraign and impede the decrees and decisions of the legislative body, and to assert a dangerous independence, several members, who were also deputies in the national assembly, in hope of checking its influence, embodied a new club, which was called, from the year in which it was formed, *Quatre-vingt-neuf*; and in which were enrolled the dukes of Rochefoucault and Liancourt, La Fayette, Mirabeau, and even Chapelier, the founder of the jacobins.

The duration of this new society was short, and its influence never extensive. The projectors, in the vain expectation of adding to its weight, had confined the claim of admission to members of the

\* See Conjuraton de Robespierre. Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 372.

assembly,



assembly, the department, the municipality, and the officers of the national guard : but this distinction was painful and offensive to the lovers of equality ; the club of *Quatre-vingt-neuf* was considered an aristocratic association, and quickly declined into oblivion ; while Mirabeau, Chapelier, and its most able members, fought, in the bold tumultuous discussions of the jacobins, to retrieve that popularity which had been shaken by their temporary secession. But their stations were already occupied by Barnave, and the Lameths ; and in that hall where Mirabeau had formerly governed without control, he now found himself obliged to struggle for pre-eminence against formidable rivals.

CH. I.  
1790.

Barnave was educated in the profession of the law, and, like most other *avocats* returned to the states-general, felt indignation, and even hatred, against the nobility and superior clergy, for the contempt with which the class of lawyers had been formerly treated. To gratify the revenge thus excited in their minds, the advocates spared neither exertion nor intrigue ; and in their indiscriminating ardour, they overthrew not only the nobility and clergy, but the law itself, and even those maxims of right, and that horror of crime, on which alone an efficient system of law can be founded. Barnave, while he shared the resentful feelings of his compeers, more than shared with them the favour of the populace ; and he took more than ordinary means

CH. I. to acquire it when he answered the complaints on  
1790. the murders which followed the 14th of July, 1789, by the brutally sarcastic question, "Is the blood that has been shed then so very pure?"

The eventful history of the revolution can hardly furnish a more disgusting instance of ingratitude than was displayed by the Lameths in their ardent opposition to government. Their house ranked among the most illustrious of Picardy; the liberality of their sovereign had in a great measure repaired the embarrassments occasioned by the profusion of their ancestors. Louis XVI. had made ample pecuniary allowances to the marchioness de Lameth, for the education and establishment of her children; and such was the confidence of that unfortunate prince in their gratitude, that her five sons, an instance unprecedented in France, were entrusted with the command of as many regiments; yet on the first murmur of disaffection, they forgot their obligations to the throne, and were among the most rancorous revilers of the king. Alexander Lameth is said to have established the committee of correspondence at the jacobin club; and Charles Lameth, inflated with the applause bestowed on his speeches in the national assembly, avowed himself the rival of La Fayette, and aspired to the command of the national guards.

Yet while Barnave and the Lameths seemed most fully to enjoy the confidence of the jacobins, and  
were

were anxious alone to prevent Mirabeau from regaining his former ascendancy, new characters began to appear; the names of Petion and Robespierre were inscribed on the committee of correspondence;—names then obscure, but destined afterwards to glare with horrible lustre in the annals of the revolution.

But while some men, from an opinion that too much violence prevailed in the jacobin club, endeavoured to counteract its effects by a more moderate association, another class, more numerous and successful, considering its proceedings and principles too languid, formed themselves into a new body, denominated at first *La Société Fraternelle*, but afterwards, from the convent in which these sittings were held, the Club of Cordeliers. The orators, who were of the lowest class, assiduously mingled with the multitude; detailing in the language of the most profligate vulgar their own proceedings and opinions; upbraiding the tardy labours of the assembly; reviling all who were distinguished for rank, talent, or even popularity; and extending their open contempt of religion beyond the limits by which the boldest demagogues had hitherto bounded themselves.

One of the conspicuous supporters of this association was Marat, a native of Neuchâtel, and consequently subject of the king of Prussia: a quack doctor, equally obscure and presumptuous.

He



CH. I. He courted the vulgar by oaths, blasphemies, and  
1790. obscenities, which were unsparingly used, not only in his speeches, but in his journal called *L'Ami du Peuple* (a name afterwards transferred to the author), which was sold for a farthing, and was replete with abuse and invitations to insurrection and murder.

Another eminent cordelier was Danton, a lawyer without practice, but not without talent, remarkable for a loud voice, and an undaunted courage: he was at this time struggling into notice, but had already made himself formidable to La Fayette and Bailly, whom in common with the other members of the club of cordeliers he attacked with great vigour.

This club also received among its members a Prussian baron, whom his godfathers had named Jean Baptiste, but who chose to call himself Anarchis; an appellative which, joined to his harsh surname Cloutz, made a medley of Greek and Gothic, not more whimsical than the mind and conduct of the individual. This man, of whom it was doubted whether he was really mad or only fanatic, was used as a tool by the duc de Liancourt, to prepare for the ceremony of the confederation, by attending at the bar of the assembly with a troop of Savoyards, teachers of languages, negroes, and foreigners of every kind, ridiculously disguised in hired dresses, to represent all the nations of the universe.

universe. Proud of leading this rabble to the assembly, and of a bombastic and nonsensical speech which he delivered, he assumed the title of *orator of the human race*, and obtained leave to appear in that character at the confederation. CH. I.  
1790.

Even these persons had in the club of cordeliers their humble satellites and imitators: Hébert, author of a journal called *Le Père Duchesne*, rivalled Marat in blasphemy and obscenity; St. Huruge, boasting a loud voice, and invincible impudence, followed the steps of Danton; and if Cloutz had no professed imitator, it arose only from the eccentricity of his conduct.

Some other men of moderate talent, as Camille Desmoulins, an obscure lawyer, and Fabre d'Églantine, a still more obscure poet, figured also among the cordeliers, but being generally considered as dependent agents of the duke of Orleans, they were, for the present, little relied on, though their names were often mentioned; Desmoulins in particular had the credit of proposing the national cockade, and by his blood-thirstiness acquired the name of *procureur général de la lanterne*.

As first in rank and dignity, the monarch and his consort were honoured with a large portion of the licentious abuse disseminated by the members of this club. The calamities of nature, the failure of the seasons, and even the exercise of humanity, were imputed to them as crimes; and the populace committed frequent outrages and insults, on pretence

**CH. I.** pretence of checking the spirit of monopoly. One  
 1790. of these occurred at the first sitting of the legislature in Paris, and was supposed to be part of a project for a general insurrection : a baker, named François, accused of refusing to sell his bread to the people, was barbarously massacred ; his head fixed on a pike was the first sight that presented itself to his young wife, then three months gone with child, as she rushed through the crowd to attempt his rescue.

The national assembly made this event the foundation of a decree, authorising magistrates, on the appearance of a riot, to summon the military to their support, and proclaim martial law. A red flag was to be displayed from the town-house, as a signal that assemblies of the populace, whether armed or unarmed, would be considered criminal ; the military were afterwards, on the command of the magistrates, to fire on those who refused to disperse, and the offenders were also subject to civil prosecution.

This decree was not however obtained without opposition. Robespierre resisted it with feeble, though popular, arguments : the law was calculated, he said, to damp that flow of freedom which it was necessary to cherish. The *good people* of Paris were very seldom in the wrong, always meant well, and ought not to be punished for the errors they might fall into when made desperate by  
 hunger :



hunger: their trespasses were venial, when compared with the guilt of those who obstructed the free entrance of provisions, and created an artificial famine.

Ch. I.  
1790

The authority of the national assembly was indeed exerted to restrain in future the sanguinary excesses of the multitude; to atone for their bloody error was the prerogative of the throne. The queen sent the duke of Liancourt with a present of six thousand livres (262 *l.* 10*s.*) to the widow, and jointly with the king engaged to be sponsors for her child. This act, like every other of the queen, afforded subjects for calumny: a cloud of libels darkened the land; and the avidity with which the people received every accusation against their sovereign and his ministers, could only be equalled by the diligence with which those accusations were propagated.

If virtue and real merit sunk under such attacks, how could factitious celebrity, and reputation raised merely on the basis of chicane and delusion, hope to survive? M. Necker had long been obnoxious to a malignant and active party; after having ranked among the greatest politicians and ministers, he was confounded with the common tribe of state empirics and intriguers; and to jealousy of his intentions had succeeded contempt of his talents. His financial measures were disregarded, his proposed loans fettered by the assembly with conditions

CH. I. tions which prevented them from filling, and his  
 1790. person, conduct, and even his private character,  
 were loaded with obloquy.

15th Under promise of secrecy, Camus, who  
 March. had been placed at the head of a committee of enquiry, obtained from Necker a register of all the pensions, gifts, and expenditure of the public money by the court, for the last twenty years, commonly called *the red-book*. With characteristic perfidy, the promise of secrecy was violated, and the book published in various forms, and with numerous falsifications and insulting comments. The contents of this register could not, however, gratify the hopes of those who gave it to the public, since it proved that the king's expences had been extremely moderate, and his generosity, in general, judicious. Clamours were raised respecting the sums applied to the use of the comte d'Artois, but even these were easily defended; and had they been less excusable, a failing proceeding from affection to a prince of the blood, might have been pardoned to a French monarch, whose private expences, in a licentious age, were not stained with the record of a tribute to any individual who had contributed to his personal gratifications, or inflated his pride by flatteries. But the red-book recorded in unequivocal terms the ingratitude of many pretended patriots, especially the Lameths; it proved that they owed every  
 thing

thing they possessed, and every thing they were, to the king, whom they were so anxious to revile and degrade. CH. I.  
1790.

Necker felt on this occasion the anger of a man who had been deceived, only because experience could not make him wise. He was judiciously reproached by the king for his mistaken confidence; but when he ventured to remonstrate with Camus, and intimated the displeasure of the sovereign, received this taunting answer from the deputy in his own name and that of the committee: "We are certain that our conduct will not be disavowed by the national assembly, and as for the king—we are not his representatives."

Even after this insult, which he had not courage to resent, Necker clung to his office with desperate pertinacity, nor did he consent to retire till alarmed by false accounts of plots against his personal safety. Then, in abrupt terms, soliciting a gleam of returning kindness, he announced to the national assembly his resignation; adding, that he left two millions of livres (87,500 *l.*), which he had lent to the public treasury, together with his hotel and furniture, as pledges of the fidelity of his administration. The assembly, after hearing his letter with cold indifference, passed to the order of the day; an usual form when a subject was deemed unworthy of discussion. Some sections of Paris assembled to deliberate



CH. I.  
1790. berate whether his departure should be permitted, and whether his proposed pledge was adequate to his supposed delinquencies ; but those who wished for his resignation, discouraged every attempt to impede his retreat.

Still the degraded minister was not cured of the folly of ambition ; he staid eight days in Paris, hoping that a turn of affairs would induce some party to interest themselves in his fate. Reluctantly, at length, he set out on his journey towards his estate at Copet in Switzerland. Twice in his route, at Arcis sur Aube and at Vesoul, he was arrested by the populace, his papers searched, his person insulted, and he remained in hourly dread of some fatal violence to himself and family, until liberated by an express from the national assembly. Such was the flight from France of that minister, whose exile but a few months before had driven the people to despair and revolt.

In his asylum at Copet, ambition haunted him like a fiend, and he had not the consciousness of political integrity to tranquillise his mind ; which was a prey to the misery of contemplating those horrors which naturally resulted from the principles he had sanctioned, and the practices he had adopted. His situation is forcibly painted by his friend, the immortal Gibbon, who visited and endeavoured to console him in his retreat. “ With all the means of private happiness in his power,” says that  
luminous

luminous writer, “ he is the most miserable of human beings ; the past, the present, and the future, are equally odious to him ; when I suggested some domestic amusements of books, buildings, &c. he answered with a deep tone of despair, *in my present condition I can only think of the tempest that has overwhelmed me\**.”

CH. I.  
1790.

\* See Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. I. p. 213, and for the rest of the transactions respecting Necker, Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 194. et seq. and Bertrand's Annals, vol. II. p. 64.

## CHAP. II.

*Dangers to which the Government was exposed—Conduct of the Duke of Orleans—Mirabeau—Report of the Chatelet on the 5th of October—Adherence of the Assembly to the Family Compact—Mutiny at Brest—Change of Ministry—Complaints respecting Lorraine and Alsace—Efforts for acquiring Avignon.—Persecution of the Clergy—New Oath devised—Reluctantly sanctioned by the King—Some Priests take the Oath—The Ecclesiastics in the Assembly refuse—All the Bishops, except three, and vast Numbers of Priests, deprived of their Livings—The King's Aunts leave France—Conduct of Mirabeau—His Junction with the Court—His Project for restoring to the King a due Portion of Authority—A Mob assail the Palace—Discussions respecting the King's Authority—On restraining popular Societies—On Laws respecting Emigration—Attack on the Castle of Vincennes—The King's Friends disarmed and maltreated by La Fayette—Increased Exertions of Mirabeau—The King ill—Regency established—Residence of public Functionaries decreed—Illness and Death of Mirabeau—Public Honours paid to him—His Character.*

## CH. II.

1790.

**D**URING the course of the revolution, the progress from one vice and excess to others still greater and more alarming, had been so rapid, that  
while



while the ignorant and malignant were kept in silence through wonder or gratification, the wise and virtuous were excited to redoubled, though often pernicious, activity in endeavouring to restrain its impetuosity or alter its direction. The party who had from the beginning felt an attachment to the cause of royalty and the person of the sovereign, were afflicted at the daily degradation of his authority, in which they already beheld a complete overthrow of the monarchy, as well as of the orders by which it was supported. Even the greatest favourers of the revolution began to be sensible that their proceedings tended to extremes which prudence and a regard to their own safety should have taught them to avoid. Those who led the factions in opposition to the crown, and who, to answer their own purposes, had flattered the people into an opinion of their omnipotence and infallibility, now found that their own arts were practised with still greater success by a lower class; and that those whom they had employed as servile retainers in guiding the mob, now frequently assumed the direction, to their own peculiar advantage; that the superior agents in the revolution were in daily danger of being supplanted by the class next below them, while others still lower were using similar efforts; and that, finally, all government and all security must arise from, and be conferred by, the populace, inflamed to an extravagant presumption on the subject

CH. II. ject of their rights and virtues, exempt from all re-  
 1790. straints of religion and authority, jealous, vengeful,  
 and inexorable.

The duke of Orleans, whose conduct had been, at first, influenced by motives of personal animosity to the sovereigns, and particularly to the queen, found that designing men had led him into extremes which he could not justify, and wished to recede ; but his overtures for conciliation with the king not having been cordially received, he had become desperate, and resolved to persevere in his former courses. Still the superior class of his adherents saw the dangers to which the kingdom was exposed ; and the duke de Biron, while he confessed the weakness both of himself and the duke of Orleans, declared that by their party the king and monarchy must ultimately be saved \*.

Mirabeau, far superior to both these men in talents, and in personal influence, felt greater regret at the course of public affairs. With Necker was removed a great obstacle to his views of ambition ; he had already offered his services, and the king was inclined to gain his co-operation in the re-establishment of some portion of his former authority. A negotiation to this effect was in considerable forwardness, when it was frustrated by the report on the transactions of the 5th and 6th of Oc-

\* Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 324.

tober, which was made to the assembly from the court of Chatelet \*. Since the abrogation of parliaments, this tribunal had been authorised, contrary to the intent of its institution, to try crimes of treason against the people, called in the new language *lese nation*. CH. II.  
1790.

The proceedings of this court had not hitherto given satisfaction to any party: the sanguinary revolutionists were displeased with the acquittal of many persons whom it was wished to sacrifice without proofs, and even without a declared law; while the royalists were grieved, astonished, and offended at the judgment passed on the marquis de Favras, who was condemned to an ignominious death, on the testimony of two men utterly unworthy of belief, and on a charge too absurd to merit serious consideration †. The spirit with which the judges of the Chatelet pursued the present enquiry, though entitled to credit for integrity and courage, was not qualified to augment their popularity: the judges were known to be hostile to the interests of the duke of Orleans, and their diligence in procuring and examining witnesses in every class of life, and from all quarters, inspired fear and hatred. The course of their laudable zeal

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. I. p. 318. Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 123.

† See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. Art. Favras, and the authorities there cited.



CH. II.

1790.

met with impediments not only from the intrigues of the opposing party, but from the honourable magnanimity of the queen, who though deeply injured, and cruelly calumniated, disdained to retort evil on her adversaries, and instead of the information which was expected from her, gave only the heroic and dignified answer—"I saw all, heard all, and have forgotten all \*." The Chatelet, however, made great progress in the enquiry, and col-

August.

lected a vast body of depositions, which were read to the assembly, with a request that they might be published; but as the reporter had made it part of his declaration that the judgment of the court would implicate two members of the legislature, and no doubt was entertained that Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans were the persons alluded to, their friends and agents, after impeding the hearing of the proceedings, prevented an authenticated publication of the depositions †.

30th Sep.

The report was submitted to a committee of the national assembly, the principal agent of which was Chabroud, a lawyer, a man notoriously devoted to the duke of Orleans, and who shewed his attachment, and his want of

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 50. All the historians of the French revolution attest this grand expression, and even the most prejudiced have not refused it a warm tribute of praise.

† Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 61. Conjurat'ion d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 70.

CH. II.  
1790.

integrity, by mutilating, transposing, and even falsifying the depositions, so as completely to reverse the sense of the witnesses, to throw ridicule on the transactions of the 5th and 6th of October, and rather to inculcate the *gardes du corps*, than criminate their murderers\*.

The debates on this report lasted two days; those members whose depositions had been falsified were refused permission to speak in explanation; the *gardes du corps* were ably vindicated by M. de Bonnai; and the abbé Maury, while he <sup>2d Oct.</sup> contended that the guilt of the duke of Orleans was fully proved, admitted that no charge against Mirabeau was sufficiently substantiated to warrant a decree of accusation. The duke of Orleans made a poor and unmeaning defence through the medium of his friend Biron, and the next day promised, in person, a full account of his conduct; which, however, he never produced. Mirabeau vindicated himself with equal eloquence and audacity, treating the report of the Chatelet as a mere intrigue, and threatening the framers of it with never-ceasing vengeance. The galleries were prodigal of applause to all speakers in favour of the parties accused, preventing all others from being heard; and the assembly, refusing every proposition of adjournment, discussion, or delay, pronounced their acquittal. Prosecutions were commenced against

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 109.

CH. II. some of the inferior agents in this horrible affair,  
 1790. among whom were a murderer, called at the time  
 the man with the long beard, but since better  
 known by the name of Jourdan *le coupe-tête*, and  
 a blood-thirsty prostitute, named Theroigne de Meri-  
 court; but the proceedings were superseded by a  
 25th. decree depriving the Chatelet of its jurif-  
 diction over criminal offences\*.

As Mirabeau erroneously supposed that the court  
 directed the proceedings of the Chatelet against  
 him, all negotiation for his support was for a time  
 suspended, and the business of the assembly was  
 pursued in the usual channel. One of the prin-  
 cipal subjects of their discussion arose in conse-  
 quence of the misunderstanding between the courts  
 of St. James's and Madrid, which appeared to  
 threaten hostilities. On this occasion the king of

10th. Spain applied to France for assistance ac-  
 cording to the terms of the family-compact;  
 and the legislature, after much debate on the mes-  
 sage from the king, decreed, that they would ri-  
 gorously adhere to all existing treaties, including  
 17th. that compact, and ordered a squadron of  
 forty-five sail of the line to be fitted out  
 at Brest, under the command of M. d'Albert de

\* See Histories—Debates—Biographical Memoirs, articles Mi-  
 rabeau and Orleans—Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 109. A less  
 extensive and somewhat incorrect account is given by anticipation  
 in a former part of this work, vol. III. p. 491.



Riots. But in the arsenals at that port the spirit of insubordination prevailed no less than in other parts of the kingdom: the galley slaves threatened to fire the store-houses, the sailors derided their officers and the national assembly, and, in virtue of their strength and superiority in numbers, claimed the right of legislating for themselves. The assembly opposed to these excesses only feeble and time-serving decrees; and the admiral, unable to restore order, was obliged to resign the command. He was succeeded by M. de Bougainville; but the pacification which ensued, reduced the duty of the commander to the difficult task of restoring subordination \*.

CH. II.  
1790.

21st.

31st.

Although the national assembly would not risk the conflict in which its authority might have been engaged with resolute and powerful mutineers, the events at Brest furnished means for inculcating the ministers who retained their offices after the retreat of Necker. The wish for a change in the cabinet had become general among the friends of the constitution, the jacobins, and even the aristocrats†. They were attacked in a body in a report from the several committees of the assembly re-

\* Bertrand's *Annales*, vol. III. p. 84. It is worth mentioning that on this occasion, after an animated debate, it was resolved that the white flag should be no longer used, but that of three colours substituted.

† Bouillé's *Memoirs*, p. 259.

CH. II. <sup>1790.</sup> specting the continuation of disturbances, and the want of discipline in the fleet. The ministers being reduced to inactivity in many respects by the dread of the tremendous and undefined responsibility annexed to their situations, their adversaries daily renewed their attacks, the sections of Paris petitioned, and at length they triumphed in the appointment of a new administration. M. de la Tour 9th Nov. du Pin, minister at war, was succeeded by M. du Portail, who insured to himself a temporary popularity by paying abject homage to the national assembly, and promising "to reduce to practice the sublime theory of their laws." M. Duport du Tertre, an obscure lawyer and officer of the municipality of Paris, was made keeper of the state seal; such being the new name given to the office of keeper of the seals, now resigned by the bishop of Bourdeaux. He went after his appointment to the *maison de la commune*, and acquired the right of retaining his scarf as a municipal officer, together with the title of plebeian minister. Du Portail and Duport du Tertre owed their nomination to La Fayette. The naval department vacated by M. de la Luzerne was bestowed on M. Fleurieu, who was also obliged soon afterwards to relinquish his station to M. Thevenard; M. de St. Priest retained his office till the month of December, when he resigned in favour of M. de Blondel, and emigrated; and

and M. de Montmorin, who was not disliked by any party, still remained in place.

CH. II.

1790.

From this period a new system of government commenced; every subordinate person in office, instead of receiving directions from his superiors, thought himself at liberty to ask instructions from some of the committees of the legislature, or to act on his own judgment, relying on them for his vindication.

Although the debates on the family-compact had produced the decree by which the French nation renounced all conquests, the conduct of the legislature shewed no disposition to avoid war, and still less to shun causes of offence to foreign powers. The course of their declamations and nature of their proceedings were replete with arrogance towards established authorities; and they often affected to legislate for other nations as well as themselves; a disposition particularly visible in their declaration of rights, and their decree for abolishing nobility, where they declared, not that hereditary nobility was inconsistent with freedom in France, but that it was incompatible with a free state. The consequences of this decree deprived several princes of the empire of rights in the provinces of Lorraine and Alsace; but all remonstrances were treated with lofty disdain, replied to by complaints against the reception afforded to emigrants, and finally by fortifying and arming the frontier, under pretence that



CH. II.

1790.

that armies were advancing from all quarters to attack France, while in fact no danger or preparation was any-where threatened\*.

Nor was the pretence of avoiding extraneous acquisition adhered to, though as yet no formidable step was taken for seizing the dominions of other powers. The annexation of Corsica to the realm of France by receiving deputies into the assembly, and thus binding the people, according to the expression of Rabaud St. Etienne, in the mild chains of liberty and equality, was, in fact, no more than confirming an old usurpation; but the attempts made on Avignon, and the efforts for obtaining a junction of the Comtat with France, were too gross violations of all pretended self-denial to be explained or palliated. The measures hitherto adopted were not of the highest class of violence, but intrigues and manœuvres were daily practised to obtain addresses from the municipalities requesting the junction; and troops were sent to enforce obedience to the laws, or in other words, to assure the preponderance of the popular faction; but the proceedings were not sufficiently rapid to gratify the hopes of the demagogues of Paris, who awaited in gloomy expectation the accomplishment of their schemes†.

\* See debates in October, 1790, January and February, 1791.

† See Debates 20th November and 11th December, 1790. Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 189.

The reluctance of the assembly to act with violence in seizing the papal rights in Avignon, was doubly disgusting to the anti-religious part of the community; as they had pursued their projects against the clergy with every appearance of success, and already entertained hopes of driving that class of men, and the faith they supported, from the land. The seizure of clerical property left the ministers of the Christian faith in a state of abject dependence on those who made no secret of their hatred and contempt. Not content with the plunder already acquired, the assembly sought to render the ministers of religion contemptible, by subjecting them to a new oath, studiously framed in such terms that their fidelity to the pope, as head of their church, would not suffer the conscientious to take it; and those who refused were to be driven forth with no resource but five hundred livres (21*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) a-year, and exposed to the fury of their persecutors as non-conformists, or, as the modern phrase called it, refractory.

The decrees of the legislature had been for some time so replete with tyranny against this body, that the intention of reducing them to misery, or exasperating them to resistance, could not be disguised. After seizing their established revenues, laws were made declaring all benefices elective, admitting all persons of every sect, even those who were not Christians,

CH. II. Christians, to vote in these elections, and totally  
 1790. altering the extent and limits of dioceses. The

clergy respectfully contended that, whatever right the assembly might claim to their endowments, they could not assume a dominion over the discipline and spiritual government of the church, and therefore demanded a national council to arrange the matters embraced in these decrees. This proposition excited the indignation of the legislature; pretended conspiracies and insurrections were de-

26th. nounced and declaimed on with fury; and after the discussion of a long complaint against the bishop of Nantz, Voidel, a devoted adherent of the duke of Orleans, made a report from four committees, inveighing in shameless terms against the supposed crimes of the clergy, proposing a decree by which all members of the church should be compelled to swear adherence and submission to the civil constitution of the clergy on pain of forfeiting their livings, and denouncing civil prosecutions against those who, after refusing the oaths, should retain their benefices or exercise their functions. This decree was ably combated by the energetic and lofty eloquence of Maury, the solid reasonings of the abbé de Montesquieu, and the pathetic simplicity of the bishop de Clermont; but as their arguments were answered only by profane ribaldry



or wanton insult, the clergy announced their resolution to take no further share in the discussion ; and the decree, with another still more rigorous proposed by Mirabeau, passed the assembly\*.

CH. II.  
1790.

The king had already received from the pope a brief expressing his disapprobation of the civil constitution of the clergy ; and he was too sincerely attached to the forms of church-government, as well as the substance of Christianity, to approve of any innovation which the Roman pontiff declared repugnant to the ecclesiastical constitution. The assembly now pressed him to *sanction* their <sup>23d</sup> decree (for, as it was not incorporated with Decem. the constitution, it did not require *acceptance*), but Louis refused to legalise the measure ; till the violent party in the assembly, changing their term, required its acceptance, and threatened to renew the outrages of October. The tribunes thundered with execrations against the bishops for appealing to the pope, and with complaints on the weakness of Frenchmen who could submit to the veto of a transalpine pontiff ; and the decree being ranked as a constitutional one, the king reluctantly wrote a long letter to the assembly announcing his *acceptance* of it. The de- <sup>26th</sup> Decem. magogues now triumphed in their victory over

\* Debates 26th and 27th November. Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 196.

CH. II. the church, whose members they had reduced to  
 1790. the alternative of martyrdom or apostacy, and were highly gratified when on the ensuing day sixty priests and monks took the oaths, headed by the abbé Gregoire, who with hypocritical impudence declared his conviction that the assembly had never designed to attack the doctrines, hierarchy, or spiritual authority of the head of the church.

4th Jan. To enforce their decree with greater  
 1791. certainty, the legislature fixed a day (the 4th of January, 1791) on which every ecclesiastical member of their body must peremptorily take the oath or resign his benefices. On the Sunday preceding this day a false copy of the decree was posted in the capital, declaring those ecclesiastics who would not comply with its terms, disturbers of the public tranquillity. The bishop of Clermont, desirous by a last effort to convince the people of the pure intentions of the clergy, proposed a modification of the test, but the assembly refused to admit it \*.

\* He offered to take an oath in these words, which nothing but the most perverse tyranny could consider less than satisfactory. "I swear to watch with care over the faithful, whose conduct has been, or may be, entrusted to me by the church; to be true to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain with all my power, in all that relates to political order, the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king, with the express exception of those matters which depend particularly upon the authority of the church." Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 279.

In expectation of the grand event, the galleries were filled and the hall surrounded with a clamorous and sanguinary mob. The clergy attended in their places, as willing sacrifices to the purity of their principles. Some time was passed in attempting to modify the requisition of the assembly, by an explanatory decree, proposed by the apostate Gregoire, but rejected. At length the president informed the ecclesiastical members that he would proceed to call their names, and that they were bound to answer. The silence with which the intimation was received lasted some minutes, and was only broken by the yells of the people in the galleries, requiring that the non-jurors should be hung *à la lanterne*. When these clamours were with difficulty appeased, the president began his list with the bishop of Agen; and the venerable prelate, having with difficulty obtained permission to speak, delivered himself in these words: "I feel no regret for the loss of my preferment; I feel no regret for my fortune; but I should regret the loss of your esteem, which I am determined to deserve. I beg you then to believe that I feel great pain at not being able to take the oath you require." Several other members of the church returned similar answers; when their enemies, fearful that the publication of so many heroic sentences would turn the triumph they had expected into a disgrace, made the president desist from calling the names.

CH. II.

1791.



**CH. II.** names, and limit himself to a general summons for  
 1791. the ecclesiastics to take the oaths, or renounce their benefices. After long delay, this definitive appeal produced only one instance of compliance, in the person of a curé named Landrin ; and all the rest, with unparalleled serenity, heard the decree read which ejected them from their livings for ever.

All the bishops except three\*, and many thousands of parish priests and curates, were thus to be suddenly replaced. A new decree obviated the difficulties thus created, by shortening the term required by the law for qualifying clergymen to hold benefices : an unprincipled rabble, the dregs of infidelity and apostacy, were thus put in possession of the remaining wealth and titular honours of the church, while those who had long held these dignities, and gained the affections of their flocks, were deprived of every resource save the miserable pittance allotted to them by the assembly. The excessive cruelty of this persecution by pretended philosophers, was deeply felt : whatever opinions might be entertained of the folly or falsity of the Romish doctrines, no reasoning man could refuse his detestation to the iniquity of compelling persons inducted into an office, to renounce it with all its

\* The three exceptions were De Lomenie bishop of Sens, De Jarente bishop of Orleans, and Talleyrand Perigord bishop of Autun. To these the bishop of Viviers might be added, but he was insane.

emoluments,

emoluments, unless they would take an oath directly repugnant to every principle which they had acquired in order to qualify them for that office. Perhaps the vigour displayed by the clergy on this occasion exceeded the expectations of their adversaries ; more feebleness would have exposed the whole body to contempt, but their embracing poverty in a host raised them to the rank of martyrs : the purity of their principles could no longer be questioned, and the triumphant party gnashed their teeth with rage at the eloquent expression of M. de Montlosier respecting the ejected bishops : “ If they are driven from their episcopal palaces,” he said, “ they will retire to the huts of the cottagers who have been fed by their bounty. If deprived of their golden crosses, they will find wooden ones ; and it was a cross of wood that saved the world\*.”

CH. II.  
1791.

No persons felt the indignities offered to religion by these transactions more sensibly than the royal family ; nor did any individuals of that family feel them with more acuteness than the king's aunts, who determined no longer to reside in their

\* For these particulars see the debates on the days alluded to, the histories of the revolution, Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. pages 197, 262, 277, and the abbé Barruel's History of the Clergy. The virtuous conduct of the clergy was strongly contrasted by the time-serving baseness of the principal professors and masters of the university of Paris, who to retain their emoluments took the oaths.

CH. II.

1791.

native land. These worthy princesses, grown old in acts of piety and benevolence, had lived uncorrupted amid the brilliant dissipation of the court of Louis XV. their father: to the public they were only known by their charity, mildness, and virtue. The king learned their resolution to quit France with regret; but his arguments failing, he would not use his authority to enforce their stay. The attention of the assembly was directed towards this subject by the sensation it occasioned in the commune and clubs of Paris, who by a deputation required a law *to settle the particular mode of existence of the reigning family, and all its branches.* The president ingeniously satisfied this deputation by a vague answer, but the jacobins still maintained discussions on the subject; great pains were taken to convince the people that Monsieur, the king's brother, intended also to leave the kingdom, and he could only remove the surmise by personal assurances to an immense mob, who waited on him for that purpose. Another party of the rabble intended also to require of the princesses a change in their determination; but they fortunately made

19th Feb. their escape from Paris at ten o'clock  
 1791. at night: they were, however, arrested at Arnay-le-duc, and not permitted to prosecute their journey till a decree of the assembly, 24th. procured after long and tumultuous alterations, gave them liberty.

During



During the late debates, the conduct of Mirabeau had been a problem which none of his old adherents, and few of the king's friends, were able to solve. His speeches at some times appeared to favour the court, and at others he proposed measures attended with explanations which, though in the genuine sense of the revolutionists, seemed, even to them, to afford too extensive and candid disclosures. In fact, the negotiation between this popular demagogue and the court had been successfully renewed; and in consideration of six hundred thousand livres (26,250 *l.*) in present payment, and a monthly stipend of fifty thousand livres (2,187 *l.*), he had engaged with earnest zeal in the cause of monarchy, and gained the entire confidence of the king and his most intimate advisers. But as Mirabeau was sensible that in the degraded and enfeebled state to which he had reduced the royal authority, no effort of force would be attended with the desired consequences, he still proposed to forward his new measures by means of his popularity; to awe the most frantic of the revolutionists by threatening to disclose their crimes, to combine others in his cause by a judicious mixture of promises and arguments, to secure the fidelity of the army to the sovereign, and engage the people to petition for the dissolution of the present and convocation of a new assembly, on the well-founded allegation, that the existing legislature had exceeded

CH. II. 1791. the authorities with which it was originally invested, and consequently that its abolitions, resump-tions, and regulations, were not valid. It was also a part of this project that the king should leave Paris, where he was in fact a captive, and putting himself at the head of his forces, commanded by the marquis de Bouillé, fix his abode at Montmedi, proclaiming himself the protector of his people, and defender of their rights and liberties. The plan was wise, dignified, and moderate ; it proposed no violence against the assembly nor individuals, and it could not with propriety be called a counter-revolution, but a tranquil mode of retracting those errors into which precipitate zeal, or corrupt ambition, had plunged the assembly \*.

Faithful to his new engagements, Mirabeau saw with regret the late attacks on the clergy, but could not openly oppose them, as the difference between such conduct and that which he had always before observed, would have been too conspicuous. At first he promised to absent himself from the assembly for a month, but his sagacity soon discovered the folly of secession, and he contented himself, when the decrees had passed, with proposing an address to the nation, which would, by its excessive violence, have roused every true friend of the catholic religion, and

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 128 ; Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 274, et seq. ; Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 316, et seq.

compelled them to rally round the altar. The members of the left side, however, foresaw this effect, and though they concurred in the atrocious sentiments of the address, referred it back to a committee \*.

CH. II.  
1791.

The permission afforded to the king's 24th  
aunts to travel to Rome, formed the February.  
pretext for a popular commotion; a large mob, headed by Theroigne de Mericourt, rushed towards the palace; the gates were shut, and the municipality required to attend to preserve the peace. The timid Bailly stood before the king pale and trembling, fearful to act against the populace, who were already advanced to the grates of the palace, and filled the place with their screams, threats, and execrations. The king insisted on his suppressing the tumult: "Sire," said the terrified mayor, "we must act with gentleness."—"Yes, sir," answered the king, "but not with weakness." Bailly did not, however, act at all; nor was the mob dispersed till a detachment of national guards arrived with their cannon.

On this occasion a number of gentlemen attached to the king's person, and resolved not to bear without resistance a renewal of the scenes of October, ran to the palace, armed with sword-canes, hang-

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 294.—See also the address itself in the same work, vol. IV. p. 61 of the Appendix.



CH. II. ers, pistols, and such other weapons as could be  
 1791. carried with the least appearance of military array. They had frequently assembled on appearances of riot, and their services had been publicly acknowledged, but they were now marked out to the malignity of the rabble as a new and unconstitutional body guard, and distinguished by the title of *Chevaliers du Poignard*.

25th. The increasing collision of parties threatened the utmost extremes of violence; those in opposition to the crown saw with indignation the appearance of a disposition to restrain the encroachments daily made on the royal authority; and Barnave renewed the contest on this subject in the assembly, by precipitately discussing a law framed in consequence of the petition of the commune, and entitled "On the residence of public functionaries." The haughty affectation of terming the king, the *first public functionary*, and some explanations, in which the left side avowed principles still more destructive of royalty, excited warm emotions, and animated bursts of eloquence from the usual supporters of the throne. Mirabeau too declared "that he would ever strenuously oppose the faction who would strike at the principles of the monarchy be their system what it might, or in whatever part of the kingdom, including all times, all places, all persons, and all factions;" and on his motion, the  
 discussion

discussion was adjourned till the committee should present an entire code of laws respecting the royal family \*. CH. II.  
1791.

Alarmed at these transactions in the assembly, all the factions combined their strength to make a general attack in every quarter on the ensuing Monday. The public mind was prepared by reports of an intended invasion by the emigrants, and the necessity of laws to prevent their numbers from being augmented; by clamours against the *Chevaliers du Poignard*; and they were taught to believe that the château de Vincennes, distant a few miles from Paris, was repairing as a new Bastille for the enemies of the court.

The galleries of the assembly were crowded at an early hour, and the debates began 28th. by a motion of Chapelier, a principal framer of the constitution, and founder of the jacobin club, tending to restore authority to the laws, and to suppress the influence of popular societies. Petion and Robespierre strenuously opposed it as inconsistent with the declaration of rights, but it was passed with amendments, the galleries taking little interest in the debate, perhaps because they had received no instructions, or perhaps from a conviction, as the result afterwards proved, that the decrees of the

\* See debates on that day, Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part I. p. 110; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 360.

CH. II. legislature would be vain, if the clubs determined  
 on resistance.

1791.

This discussion was succeeded by that on the laws against emigration, which Chapelier, as reporter from the committee on the constitution, introduced by a declaration that the more they had laboured, the less had they been able to frame a code consistent with the declaration of rights. Yet they had prepared a law which was submitted to the consideration of the assembly, but did not dare to recommend its adoption. In the debate which ensued, Mirabeau, invited to the tribune by the applauses of all parties, took a leading share. He began his speech by observing, that within an hour he had received ten notes, one half claiming the profession of those principles which he had long openly supported on the subject of emigration; the other requiring him to support what was called the necessity of circumstances. He then requested leave to read a page and a half of a letter which he had written eight years before to Frederick-William, king of Prussia, on the day of his accession to the throne, and in which he exhorted that monarch to desist from enforcing laws against emigration, as derogatory to liberty, incompatible with justice, and fit only for those powers who wished to convert their states into prisons. After enforcing these just and liberal sentiments by various arguments and examples, he moved,

not



not merely for the order of the day, which would appear to smother the subject in silence, but for an explicit declaration “that the assembly, having heard the report of their committee, and considering a law against emigrants incompatible with the principles of the constitution, had refused to hear the plan of a law read, and passed to the order of the day : without prejudice, however, to all former decrees respecting persons having sinecures or pensions paid by the nation.”

Rewbell was the first to oppose this motion, and he was followed by Merlin, who took a text from Rousseau, to prove that in times of trouble, emigrations might be forbidden. The law, which Chapelier had not yet read, was loudly called for, and found to contain a proposition for establishing a council of three members of the assembly invested with a dictatorial power, and authorised in times of commotion to point out absentees, who should be obliged to return on pain of being treated as rebels : this triumvirate was alone to be invested with the power of issuing authorities to quit the country ; and those who refused obedience to the proposed law should forfeit all the rights of French citizens, be declared incapable of holding any office, and their income and estates confiscated.

This proposition excited great murmurs, and Mirabeau, having with difficulty obtained a hearing, reasoned on it as a proof of the impracticability

CH. II.  
1791.

bility of framing laws on emigration ; and declared he should consider himself absolved from his oath of fidelity to those who could be so infamous as to appoint a dictatorial committee. This extension of the sacred duty of resistance and insurrection was highly displeasing to the left side ; but Mirabeau continuing, said, “ Gentlemen, the popularity I wish, and of which I have had the honour to enjoy my share, is not a feeble reed but an oak, whose roots I would have shoot far into the ground ; that is to say, into the firm basis of the principles of reason, justice, and liberty. I should be dishonoured in my own eyes, if at any moment in my life I ceased to repel with indignation the right, the pretended right, of making a law of this kind. But let me be understood, I do not mean a provisional measure, a measure of policy, but a law on emigration against emigrants. I swear I will in no case obey it if it pass.” Regarding with a look of contempt those who murmured at this bold declaration, he again read his former plan of a decree.

No one of the opposition party had the confidence to enter directly into the lists with Mirabeau, but Vernier remonstrating against the pusillanimity of abandoning a measure because it was declared impracticable, moved that the subject should be referred to all the committees of the assembly, who after separately examining it, should unite to frame  
a report.

a report. This proposition was warmly supported by the left side, who maintained that it was entitled, as a question of adjournment, to be decided on before the motion of Mirabeau. Irritated at this piece of chicane, and unmindful of the clamours directed against him, that great orator again ascended the tribune, and contended that when several propositions were before the assembly, a general motion of adjournment which confused them all in one mass was disorderly. Those who durst not individually attack his arguments, now thought to drown his voice by united murmurs; but suddenly turning towards them with a look of inflexible superiority, and piercing contempt, "Silence!" he exclaimed, "Silence those thirty voices!" The factious leaders apprehensive that he would disclose the facts as well as the numbers of their association, shrunk into instant quietude, and permitted him to recommend that, if the adjournment was adopted, a decree should issue for prevention of riots till its expiration. Mirabeau had, however, the mortification to see Vernier's proposition adopted; and thus a basis was laid for those acts of fraud, confiscation, and tyranny, which have disgraced the French annals, and reduced so many noble and worthy families to poverty; while upstarts, loaded with crimes, and enriched by plunder, have been enabled to revel in their properties, and insult their friends and adherents.

CH. II.

1791.

While



CH. II.

1791.

While these discussions agitated the assembly, and afforded considerable satisfaction to the enemies of the court, a detachment of the lower order of Parisians proceeded to demolish the castle of Vincennes \*, although the legislature had authorised, and the municipality of Paris had commenced the repairs. They departed about ten o'clock, and although their intention had been previously announced, La Fayette did not begin to collect the national guards for the purpose of opposing them till noon. He was surprised to find the battalion of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine averse to act under his orders, and making loud complaints, in which they were manifestly encouraged by their colonel, Santerre, a brewer. This man, raised and protected by, and thoroughly devoted to, the duke of Orleans, was at this moment used by him as an engine to reduce the popularity of La Fayette. On his arrival at Vincennes, the general easily expelled a mob of four thousand from the court-yard of the castle, but when he was proceeding to drive them from the apartments, he was surprised to hear from his own troops a cry of *Down with La Fayette!* By a temporary exertion of firmness, however, he brought them to their duty, and arrested sixty-four of the mutineers,

\* It may be worth while to call to the recollection of the reader that this was the state-prison in which Mirabeau was confined from May, 1777, to December, 1780. See Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 68.

whom

whom he carried prisoners to the capital. On his return to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, he found the *barrière du trone* shut against him, and with considerable difficulty and personal danger at length lodged his captives in the Conciergerie. CII. II.  
1791.

The tumult and agitation which prevailed during this whole day gave considerable alarm to those faithful friends of the king, whom the populace stigmatised by the name of *Chevaliers du Poignard*. Their fears were increased by a man being arrested early in the day, lurking about the palace, armed as it was reported with a dangerous weapon, and as their apprehensions led them to think, waiting for an opportunity to attack the life of the king. About three hundred of them, armed as usual, having collected in one of the apartments, information of their arrival was conveyed to the officer of the guard on duty, accompanied with an intimation that their zeal was a reflection either on his integrity or vigilance. This was sufficient to produce a vehement application to the king for disarming and removing the aristocrats, with which, however reluctantly, the monarch was obliged to comply; and having persuaded those faithful adherents to resign their arms, deposited them in a place of safety.

While this unpleasant affair was thus quietly transacted, La Fayette arriving at the palace, elated with his victory over Santerre, and vociferating the song

CH. II. }  
 1791. } song of sedition, *ça-ira tous les aristocrats à la lan-*  
*terne*, found as he imagined a cheap and easy op-  
 portunity of augmenting his popularity; and after  
 grossly insulting the officers of the household, ex-  
 pressing great indignation at the supposition that a  
 constitutional king could want additional protection  
 when surrounded by his national guards, and  
 swearing such an event should never again occur,  
 he snatched the arms of the royalists from their  
 deposit, and gave them to his troops, who imme-  
 diately thrust the unfortunate proprietors down  
 stairs, beating and wounding them in a most  
 cowardly manner, and carrying six of them to prison,  
 where they were confined twelve days. Not con-  
 tent with these base indignities, La Fayette ex-  
 torted from the king an order that in future only  
 the national guards on duty, and the persons be-  
 longing to his household, and that of the royal  
 family, should be admitted: the very next day these  
 orders were rigorously executed; and thus the ge-  
 neral of the national guards converted the royal re-  
 sidence into a state prison\*.

Although the general events of this day were  
 unfavourable, to the hopes Mirabeau might have  
 entertained from an appeal to the people of Paris,

\* For the transactions of this day see the debates and histories; Bertrand's Annals, vol. III. p. 368 et seq.; and Conjunction d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 114.



his magnanimity and knowledge of the means used in influencing them preserved him from despair. He bent the whole energy of his genius to the formation of new connections, and the establishment of a firm and powerful party; his intelligence extended in every quarter, and his vigorous mind planned arrangements in every direction: perhaps the necessity of extensive co-operation produced some indiscreet confidences, but the exertions of such a man to augment his popularity could never be ineffectual, and he found his importance daily augmenting, although his personal opponents in the clubs obtained over him occasional and impermanent advantages.

The king, however, severely affected by the indignities to which he and his friends had been subjected, was attacked with a fever, attended with a sore-throat, and spitting of blood. This incident was not disadvantageous to his interests, as the people expressed great solicitude, and celebrated his recovery by illuminations, and a grand Te Deum at the cathedral.

During his illness debates were commenced on the establishment of a regency in case of his decease during the minority of his heir, and it was at length decided, that the next male heir of full age, being a native and resident in France, might claim it of right, and in default of such relative,

CH. II.

1791.

4th

March.

17th.

22d.

relative,

CH. II. relative, the regency was to be elective. The  
 1791. guardianship of the minor's person was confided to his mother provided she remained unmarried, but if she took a second husband a guardian was to be elected by the legislature.

To this regulation, which was neither illiberal nor unjust, no opposition was made, but violent debates arose on reviving the topic so often agitated respecting the residence of public functionaries; the committee presented a report in which they persevered in styling the king *first public function-*  
 21st. *ary*, and after vehement altercations obtained a decree declaring that all should dwell in whatever place might be the proper scene of their employments; the king to be always resident during the session within twenty leagues of the legislative body, and his quitting the kingdom without a decree of the assembly was to be considered an abdication of the crown. Laws were also enacted for suppressing and finally abolishing tolls; for establishing a provisional tribunal at Orleans, which was to try crimes of *lese nation*, instead of the Chatelet, till the formation of a high national court. The *ferme générale* was also abrogated, as was the ancient military system. The marshals of France were reduced to six, with salaries of thirty thousand livres (1,312*l.* 10*s.*) a-year, and considerable reductions were made in the number and stipends of other superior officers.

The

The debates on these subjects were not remarkable, CH. II.  
1791. except on the regulation of the army, when Victor de Broglie, son of the marshal, presented so pathetic a plea for his father, and extenuated the parts of his conduct which had given offence to the people with so much ability, that he was provisionally maintained in his rank. The old warrior would not, however, accept the compromise, but confirmed the hatred of his country, and insured the loss of his rank, by a spirited letter in the public papers, disavowing all the sentiments which his son had imputed to him.

In all these debates Mirabeau had taken but little share; he had made no great exertion since the 28th of February, except in a discussion on Mines and Ores, to which he was said to be impelled by a gratification of fifty thousand livres (2,187*l.*) from the proprietors of the mines of Azen. While occupied in the arrangements for carrying into effect his grand plan for changing the government, he was seized with spasms in the chest, a complaint to which he was much subject, and which was ordinarily relieved by the warm bath. This remedy produced a temporary effect in the present case, but condemning his disease with unwarrantable rashness, and relying on the natural strength of his constitution, he attended too little to his health, and probably, by his exertions, accelerated his death. Though he was greatly exhausted by frequently speaking in the debate on  
mines,



**CH. II.** mines, a short retreat into the country afforded him  
 1791. hopes of a speedy recovery ; on his return to Paris, however, he found himself much worse, and after enduring for two days excruciating tortures, expired on the 2d of April.

30th When his illness was announced, the  
 March. whole capital was in alarm, his door was crowded with enquirers, and messengers from the king himself augmented the number. His death was ascribed in the *procès verbal*, published by the surgeons who opened him, to the stoppage of an issue ; his heart they said was dried up, and his intestines mortified. Suspicions were, however, entertained that his days were abridged by poison ; which neither the above report, nor all the reasonings on the subject, have been able entirely to remove : probability points strongly towards that conjecture, but positive proof is undoubtedly wanting. His death was regarded as a public  
 2d calamity ; the theatres were shut, the fleets  
 April. lowered their top-sails, the assembly, the municipality, and the directory of the department, went into mourning, and all France followed the example. He was buried in the church of St. Genevieve ; which was on his death decreed to be a receptacle for the ashes of illustrious men ; and as christianity declined in France, received the name of the Pantheon. A splendid procession attended his interment ; Cerutti pronounced his funeral oration,

Сн. II.  
1791.

\* For an account of Mirabeau's death and character see Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 131, et seq. and all the histories, books of memoirs, and annals, relating to the period.

## CHAP. III.

*Difficulties in supplying Vacancies in the Church—Gobet made Bishop of Paris—Persecution of the Nonjurors and their Adherents—The Pope's Bulls declared invalid—Church Plate sent to the Mint—Voltaire and Rousseau placed in the Pantheon—Projects in Favour of the King—He is prevented from going to St. Cloud—La Fayette resigns, but resumes the Command of the National Guard—The King advised by the Lameths—Writes a Letter to foreign Courts declaring his Approbation of the Revolution—Its Effect—Self-denying Decrees of the Assembly—Law authorizing the Soldiers to attend the Jacobin Club—Increasing Indignities offered to the King—Diversities of Opinions among his Friends—Divisions of the Opposition Party—Cabal formed at the House of Roland de la Platiere—Characters of him and his Wife—The Royal Family escape from Paris—Are arrested at Varennes—Monsieur escapes—Acts of the Assembly—Agitation in the City—Progress of the Royal Family—Murder of M. de Dampierre—Commissioners appointed by the Assembly to attend the Royal Family to Paris—Their Examination decreed—The King's Authority suspended—Reception of the Royal Family in Paris—The King and Queen make Declarations of the Motives of their Flight—M.*

*de*



*de Bouillé's Letter—Exertions to obtain the King's Deposition—He is strictly confined—Report of the Committee—Decree specifying the Cases in which the King should be deemed to have abdicated the Throne—Resolution on the Report of the Committees that he shall not be brought to Trial—But he is suspended from his Functions till the Completion of the Constitution—Petition of the Jacobins—Riot in the Champ de Mars—Martial Law proclaimed—Decree against Insurrection—Revision of the Constitution—It is accepted by the King—General Amnesty—The Constitution proclaimed—Dissolution and Character of the Assembly.*

1791 “**L**AMENT not me, my friends, but lament the monarchy, which with me descends to the grave,” were among the last words of Mirabeau, and they were too unhappily prophetic. The rage for innovation was now breaking through every barrier, and nothing less than his gigantic efforts could (if even they could) have restrained it.

The decrees for altering the establishment of the clergy had already been put in force ; the election of new bishops and pastors in lieu of those who refused to take the oaths was carried on with great activity throughout the kingdom, and the pope's decision against the new constitution of the clergy was publicly known. Considerable difficulties arose in obtaining consecration from a constitutional prelate for those who had been newly raised to

F 2

episcopal

CH. III.  
1791.

CH. III. 1791. episcopal sees. The bishops of Sens and Orleans resolutely refused the office; the bishop of Autun, whose whole conduct was an inexplicable riddle, had resigned his see after taking the oaths, not willing as he said to have his conduct ascribed to interested motives; he too at first refused to administer the ceremony of consecration, but, after repeated remonstrances, at length complied. The bishopric of Paris was not at first declared vacant, because the incumbent M. de Juigné was out of France, but his resolution not to take the oaths being notified, his see was conferred on Gobet bishop of Lydda, a man equally distinguished for venality, profligacy, and ingratitude, but who in the present state of the public mind was thought worthy of election to three several prelacies, those of the Upper Rhine, the Upper Marne, and the Metropolis: as he could not retain all, he chose 17th March. the latter, and was installed with great pomp, receiving canonical institution both from Talleyrand, and the municipality.

Yet the triumph of the anti-religious party was not complete; they saw with regret and indignation that the constitutional, or, as they were called, *intruding* clergy, were viewed with general contempt, while the ejected, or nonjuring priests (*prêtres insermentés*) were every-where treated with the utmost regard; and the homage and affection of the pious were manifestly increased. The municipality

pality of Paris forbad the reading of prayers in any parish church except by constitutional priests ; and enjoined the convents and hospitals from permitting the public to attend divine service in their chapels. Mobs carrying rods forced open the doors of all these places of worship, and scourged, with extreme cruelty, all the nuns and women whom they found engaged in acts of devotion. The municipality took no effectual measures for restraining these indecent insolences, which soon became aggravated into a real persecution.

CH. III.  
1791.

The pope having issued a brief against the civil constitution of the clergy, suspended the bishop of Autun from all his functions, and declared him excommunicate unless he recanted his errors within forty days ; the people were encouraged to burn the sovereign pontiff in effigy, and the legislature passed a decree declaring all briefs, bills, and receipts, of the court of Rome, void in France, unless sanctioned and formally adopted by the legislative body. The usual modes of persecution and calumny were adopted to change the public opinion on these points, or at least to suppress the indications of it ; while the remaining property of the church was rapidly falling into the grasp of a greedy legislature ; and the popular mind was debauched by abject and absurd idolatry to the principal opponents of the christian revelation. Reports were assiduously circulated of riots and insurrections



CH. III. surrections formed by the nonjuring clergy and  
 1791. their partisans in the departments, and they were  
 falsely accused of inspiring sentiments equally bar-  
 3d barous and unchristian. The superfluous  
 March. plate of the churches was ordered to be  
 coined into money;—a most ridiculous decree, as the  
 chief value consisted in the workmanship, and the  
 quantity of fillagreed and embossed silver, which in  
 a shrine was considered inestimable, would from  
 the crucible produce only a few crowns; sums prob-  
 ably insufficient to pay for the ceremony of  
*pantheonizing* (for that was the phrase) of Rousseau  
 and Voltaire, both which were decreed by the as-  
 sembly, and in the course of the year performed  
 with great pomp\*.

Although Louis XVI. had been prevailed on to  
 sanction the decree respecting the clergy, he yielded  
 only to the impulse of force; and his conscience was  
 daily more tortured by reflections on the injury he  
 had done to the religion of his fathers, and the  
 cruel violences he saw daily committed under pre-  
 tence of giving effect to that decree. The well-  
 concerted project of Mirabeau for meliorating the  
 condition of the king, and preserving the state from  
 subversion, died with him, as no individual could  
 be found capable of acting the extensive and im-

\* See debates and decrees of the assembly; histories; Bertrand's  
 Annals, vol. III. pages 413, 444, vol. IV. pages 4, 77, 227; and  
 Barruel's History of the Clergy.

portant part assigned to that great man. The project of repairing to Montmedi was retained, but it was incumbered with another suggested by M. de Montmorin, by which the great continental powers were to form a pretended coalition, to marshal inefficient armies, and wage an imaginary war, while the king's friends, by their exertions in all parts of the kingdom, were to sway the popular mind to an anxious desire of peace, military subordination, the establishment of the ancient monarchical constitution freed from its abuses, and the return of the emigrants. This plan, which required the combination of an infinity of subordinate circumstances; and the execution of which would have been deranged by failure, indiscretion, or selfishness, in any of the numerous domestic or foreign agents who must necessarily be employed, was adopted by the king; and that time might be afforded for the necessary negociations and preparations, he informed M. de Bouillé, that his intention of going to Montmedi was postponed, but not relinquished\*.

CH. III.  
1791.

The exertions of the demagogues, and of La Fayette in particular, were daily directed to the object of compelling the king to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament from the hands

\* For the particulars of this plan see Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 8, et seq.; and the correspondence between him and Mr. Fox in a separate pamphlet, or in the same work, vol. IX. p. 25.

CH. III. of a constitutional priest. For this purpose the assembly, the clubs, and the groupes in the streets, were assailed with perpetual declamations; and the patriotic journals were filled with addressees and paragraphs. La Fayette, in hopes of obtaining this point, carried insult and ribaldry even into the royal cabinet, while his worthy coadjutors, the mob, and the national guards, made the palace ring with their songs, threats, and execrations. The people were taught to express particular anxiety that the king should receive the sacrament at Easter from a priest of their favoured class; but the king, far from yielding in a point which affected his conscience, resolved to follow the advice of the bishop of Clermont, given purely on religious grounds, by suspending the pascal communion; and to avoid the importunities and insults to which he foresaw this determination would give rise, he determined to pass that week at St. Cloud.

18th April. La Fayette, apprehensive that this excursion would be opposed by the populace, took the precaution of increasing the national guards, and endeavoured to protect the king in this exercise of his natural and even constitutional right. The clubs, however, and particularly that of the cordeliers, had made effectual arrangements for frustrating all these measures, and detaining the sovereign by force. As soon as the carriages were drawn out, and the royal family had taken their seats, they were



were surrounded by an innumerable mob, who clamorously insisted that the coaches should not be permitted to pass, mingling with their vociferations the grossest abuse and obscenity; and even insulting the queen by actions of horrible immodesty. La Fayette attempted to clear the way, but his troops refused to act against the people, and he was furiously insulted by Danton, who encouraged, and in some degree directed, the proceedings of the rabble. Although disappointed of the co-operation of his soldiers, La Fayette offered to put himself at the head of a few officers, and clear the way at the hazard of his life, but the king wisely declined sanctioning so dangerous and unprofitable an attempt; and, after enduring every species of licentious insult during an hour and a half, the royal family returned to the palace, which, notwithstanding all the rhetoric of popular orators, and all the studied misrepresentations of the municipality and the assembly, could not now be considered in any other view than as their jail.

The king in person carried his complaints on this subject to the assembly, and declared his perseverance in the resolution to visit St. Cloud; but the legislature, though they applauded those parts of his speech which promised to maintain the constitution, and particularly the civil constitution of the clergy, adopted no resolution for facilitating his journey, and it was renounced in silence.

La

CH. III.  
1791.

CH. III.  
1791.

La Fayette, indignant at the conduct of his soldiers, resigned the command of the national guards, but, after two days, resumed it on the earnest solicitations of Bailly, and a deputation of the commune. He dismissed fourteen of the most refractory soldiers, and attempted to impose on the whole corps a new oath; but the men he had discharged were hailed as the martyrs of liberty, and the oath was declared superfluous and illegal\*.

Elated by their triumph, the popular faction renewed their violences against the nonjuring priests, and the king, feeling heartily for their situation, accepted in an evil hour the tender of counsel and assistance which was made to him by the Lameths. To save the unfortunate ecclesiastics, who appeared exposed to every danger and persecution on his account, he dismissed them from about his person, and even did violence to his conscience by hearing mass performed on Easter-day at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerre by a constitutional priest†.

In compliance with the advice of the Lameths, and in contradiction to that of his older and better friends, he adopted the fatal and dishonour-  
23d April. able measure of writing to all his ministers at foreign courts a letter of instructions, enabling

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. pages 60, 456; Moore's View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution, vol. II. p. 231; Conjuraton d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 111.

† Moore's View, vol. II. p. 287.

them to declare his entire approbation of the revolution, his desire to maintain the constitution, and an avowal that he considered himself perfectly free and happy\*. In vain did Montmorin oppose by the soundest reasons the transmission of this disgraceful letter; it was resolved on, and executed too suddenly for his arguments to prevail: the assembly heard it read with expressions of rapture, and sent a deputation to congratulate the king; but the royalists took no share in these transports; and Louis himself had the mortification on the next day to find Montmorin's prophecy verified; the enthusiasm of the moment entirely exhausted, and a party gaining credit by declaring that the profession were too extensive to be sincere†.

The legislative body now occupied themselves with increased diligence in forming the constitution, and arranging measures for their own dissolution and the reign of their successors. Towards <sup>7th</sup> the latter object they had, on the 7th of April. April, passed a decree, which to superficial observers appeared an heroic instance of self-denial, but which was in truth an act of consummate folly, and exposed the kingdom to inevitable evils. It imported that no number of the existing legislature should be eligible to a seat in the next; a necessary

\* See this letter in the histories, debates, and periodical works, and in Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. Appendix, p. 98.

† Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 45.



CH. III. consequence of which was, that those who framed  
 1791. the constitution would have no power of explaining  
 or enforcing its laws, and all the experience which  
 they had acquired in the transaction of business was  
 thrown aside in order to make way for new specu-  
 lists, new systems, and, in course, new parties, and  
 new violences. They also decreed that no member  
 of any legislative body should accept a place in ad-  
 ministration, till four years after its dissolution ;  
 gave to the king the power of appointing ministers,  
 but reserved to themselves that of limiting their  
 number, and at the same time decreed their respon-  
 sibility. They had in the preceding year abolished  
 1<sup>st</sup> the Corvées; and they now formally annulled  
 June. the use of torture, either for the purpose of  
 obtaining confession or punishing crimes.

With these laws, some of which were sane and  
 laudable, and some could be justified by pretensions  
 to public spirit, the assembly mixed others for  
 which no apology could be made, and which  
 tended only to confusion, blood, and plunder.  
 They authorised by an express decree the attend-  
 ance of the military, both officers and privates, at  
 the jacobin clubs during the hours they were not  
 on duty\*, and made several attacks on the property  
 of

\* This decree was strongly supported by three colonels, whose  
 destinies were remarkable, as they were all in some degree victims  
 to the insubordination which it was framed to encourage. Alex-  
 ander

of emigrants, particularly by a law subjecting them to treble taxes.

11th  
June.

CH. III.  
1791.

During these transactions the rigour of the king's confinement, and the insults he was obliged to sustain, were hourly augmenting. His old friends and faithful adherents were debarred from his presence, and he was encompassed with spies, who watched all his words and actions for the purpose of reporting them to his disadvantage, and furnishing topics of declamation to the demagogues. The new alliance into which he had been drawn with the Lameths was attended with no good to counterbalance the infinite prejudice it produced. Their assistance was not sufficiently explicit, nor their exertions sufficiently decided, to repair the effects of that consternation which his letter to the ambassadors produced in the minds of his friends in all quarters, to countervail the triumph of those who hated, or the despair of those who still adhered to the crown. The royalists, in fact, saw their only resource, the only bond of union which they could consistently avow, snatched from them by the apparently unsolicited declaration of the king, that he approved of a revolution which deposed him, ad-

ander Beauharnois, after rising to the command of an army, fell by the guillotine; M. le Vicomte de Noailles, after commanding in the out-posts at Valenciennes, was obliged to emigrate; and the comte de Tracy fled his country, and was imprisoned with La Fayette, but restored to liberty and forgotten.

mired

CH. III. 1791. mired exertions which ruined him, and felt free in a state where every semblance of liberty was denied him.

The plan for placing Louis at the head of his army to effect a change in the proceedings which threatened to destroy his government was still pursued, but circumstances were widely altered since the period when it was first proposed, and when it appeared so feasible and proper. The royal authority was much degraded by repeated shocks; and those who were, from fear of popular encroachment, prepared to rally round the throne, differed among themselves in almost every principle of government. Some were attached to the old forms; some wedded to the new; some considered all the acts of the assembly as encroachments which ought to be rescinded; others thought them all wise and reasonable, and wished only to form a strong mound against further innovation. No concordant opinions were held on any great or general subject; and among the several parties attached to the king, a discussion on the limits of his authority, on the reinstatement of nobility, or restoration of the clergy, would have given birth to endless diversities of opinion, and inextinguishable feuds. No man stood in the place of Mirabeau, to controul by his energy, animate by his eloquence, enlighten by his knowledge, and encourage by his popularity, the various persons whose aid was now requisite.

Great



Great changes had also taken place in the opposition party. The repeated secession of the most distinguished members had rendered their ranks in the assembly less formidable for numbers or talents, but the confirmed ascendancy of the galleries and the clubs, made these defalcations of less importance; as all men who meant to be useful must render themselves popular, and popularity could only be acquired by proposing, or at least supporting, all the frantic measures in religion and government which vague declamations and false systems had rendered so delightful to the mob.

CH. III.  
1791.

The party of the duke of Orleans, though deprived of several of its most distinguished adherents, was ostensibly as numerous as ever; but even among those who still availed themselves of his purse and table, and the sanction of his name, a new and separate faction had sprung up. At an early period of the year 1791, M. Roland de la Platiere, a man of letters, who had made considerable proficiency in several branches of study, arrived in Paris, being employed to negotiate some business by the municipality of Lyons, of which he was a member. His wife, who accompanied him, was a native of the capital, considerably younger than himself, a proficient in literature, a wit, agreeable in conversation, and an elegant writer. Their house became the resort of men of letters attached to the duke of Orleans, and of all the popular orators,

CH. III.

1791.

orators, and some of the most active and least respectable members of the assembly, particularly Petion and Robespierre\*. Here councils were held, and political principles established, and insensibly a faction formed, whose first object was only to shake off the domination of the duke of Orleans, but as the most effectual, and, perhaps, the only means now left, it was thought advisable to exhibit the abolition of royalty as a bait to the populace, and a terror to the superior orders, though the projectors had not themselves at first a serious notion of establishing a republic. Among the chiefs of this party, exclusive of the members of the assembly, were the marquis de Condorcet, Brissot, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and many conspicuous persons at the clubs of jacobins and cordeliers.

The diversities of opinion among the king's friends produced great embarrassments in his proceedings; all concurred in the necessity of his escaping from Paris, but as they concurred in no general view of any subject, each party presented separate plans, and the king was at once disposed to follow four, which were presented from different quarters. After many delays, the day of his departure was fixed, and M. de Bouillé received

\* See *Les Œuvres de J. M. Ph. Roland*, tom II. p. 60, and in many other places.

directions to prepare for the king's escape and reception at Montmedy. The instructions were faithfully observed, but the general's situation was much altered for the worse since the project was first recommended; the sphere of his authority was straitened, the number of his troops diminished, and their fidelity shaken by the removal of old, and introduction of new regiments. When all the preparations were completed, and troops ordered to every station of the journey, the king found it necessary to delay his departure four-and-twenty hours; and this change, besides deranging the modes of proceeding already fixed, had the bad effect of rendering the execution of the whole plan doubtful, and introducing an uncertainty into the minds of some officers, which was productive of great disasters.

At a quarter of an hour before midnight <sup>20th</sup> the royal captives quitted their prison. La June. Fayette had visited them at a late hour, and in crossing the court-yard they met him twice. Although his conduct occasioned some sinister forebodings, the fugitives, fortunately, as they thought, gained their carriages in safety, and passed through the Porte St. Martin to Bondi. At Montmirel the harness of the king's coach broke, which occasioned a delay of two hours before it could be repaired; and as none of the party thought of dispatching a courier to the next detachment of troops, the officers stationed at Pont du Somville, contrary to the orders they had received



CH. III. from their general, quitted their post, and spreading  
 1791. through the other detachments the report that the

king was not to be expected, proceeded for Varennes. On reaching St. Menehould, the king was recognised by Drouet the post-master of the town, who dispatched his son to Varennes; he then permitted the king to depart, but instigated the people to hinder the dragoons from following, and his orders were im-

21ft. plicitly obeyed. On his arrival at Varennes, the king was obliged to stop at the entrance of the town from a disappointment in the relays: two *gardes du corps* were dispatched to seek them, and the queen herself alighted to gain information. Drouet, accompanied by one Guillaume, had, however, reached Varennes before them; and prepared measures to restrain their progress; the king's carriage was stopped under an arch by eight or nine men stationed for the purpose, and Louis having forbid all resistance which might occasion bloodshed, was, with his family, conducted to a neighbouring house, where the municipality was assembled. The king pathetically expostulated for permission to proceed with his family to a place of safety, but in vain; a loaded waggon was overturned on the bridge to prevent his proceeding; the tocsin rung for ten leagues round; and legions of armed peasantry poured in to secure the persons of the royal family, whom they guarded with the utmost vigilance. Monsieur and madame, who departed an hour after the king and queen from the palace of the

Luxembourg,

Luxembourg, took the road to Valenciennes, and CH. III.  
 quitted the kingdom without impediment.,  
 1791.

Meanwhile Paris exhibited a scene of consternation and confusion ; every party pursued some scheme for promoting its own peculiar views, and every individual felt a portion of the alarm occasioned by a great and unexpected crisis. On the <sup>21st.</sup> meeting of the assembly, the president stated that Bailly had received information of the king and a part of the royal family being carried off by the enemies of the people. The stupor which succeeded this intelligence was broken by Regnaut de St. Jean d'Angely, who, after reminding the legislature of the necessity for maintaining courage, coolness, and tranquillity, obtained a decree that couriers should be sent into every department with orders to all public functionaries to arrest every person leaving the kingdom ; and in case of overtaking the king, or any of the royal family, to take the most prompt measures for preventing the continuance of their journey. La Fayette had already dispatched his aid-de-camp, M. de Romeuf, in pursuit of the king, but he was stopt by the workmen on the Pont de Louis XVI., and the general himself was insulted by the populace. Commissioners were dispatched to protect both him and M. de Cazales, who had likewise fallen into the hands of the rabble ; and the assembly occupied themselves in drawing up a decree to be promulgated in their name throughout the kingdom.

CH. III.  
1791.

When this edict was presented for signature, the minister of justice informed the legislature that an express decree was necessary to authorise such an assumption of authority. The seal having been received from the king without the interference of the legislature, could not be used in contradiction to his orders ; and they had positive commands to refuse affixing it to any decree during his absence, in a P.S. to a long memorial written by his majesty, and in the possession of M. de la Porte. This memorial being produced, was found to contain a clear, able, and masterly exposure of the king's motives, and vindication of his conduct\* ; but the assembly decreed that the ministers should provisionally affix the seal to their edicts, which should have the force of law without the king's sanction.

Bailly and La Fayette now appeared in their places, but were ordered to the bar to give an account of their conduct. Adrien Duport first assured the assembly of the tranquillity of the city, and then, at the request of La Fayette, M. Gouvion, who commanded at the palace, was admitted and made his report, Rochambeau, D'Affry, and several officers of the Swiss and other guards took oaths of fidelity to the nation ; and deputations from the sections of Croix-rouge,

\* See a genuine copy of this memorial in Rivington's Annual Register for 1791, p. 221\* ; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 108, of the Appendix : those which were previously published are grossly and wickedly falsified.

and



and the city of Versailles, assured the assembly of their resolution to support all their decrees whether sanctioned or not, and notwithstanding the king's memorial. Measures of defence, and an address to the ambassadors from foreign courts, were also voted, and the assembly desisted from business at ten o'clock at night, though their sitting was declared permanent, and great numbers continued in the hall till the next day.

CH. III.  
1791.

Meanwhile the parties without doors, and particularly the new formed republican faction, were employed with great activity in endeavouring to give a bias to the public mind. The shops were generally shut; a band paraded the streets, throwing down and trampling under foot all signs of the king and queen, and all emblems of royalty. The section of the Luxembourg tore their banners in pieces, because presented by Monsieur; hand-bills abusive of the royal family were profusely distributed; a pamphlet, entitled *Mémoires du ci-devant Roi* was hawked in the streets; and an individual was obliged to erase his christian name, *Louis*, from his shop door. The majority of citizens, however, viewed these proceedings with apprehension and alarm, which they testified by repeated enquiries, and by an unusual solemnity and earnestness of demeanor.

In the evening M. de Romeuf arrived at Varennes, and the next day the royal family, notwithstanding their earnest intreaties, and some endeavours

23d.

CH. III. endeavours made by M. de Bouillé, were obliged to  
 1791. accompany him back to Paris. They travelled by short stages, under the escort of six thousand national guards, who were reinforced in their way by all the national guards of other departments, and all the disorderly rabble which could be collected. The king and queen had the mortification of seeing their faithful attendants arrested and ill treated at Varennes; and in their first day's journey had the still greater horror of seeing M. de Dampierre, an old gentleman of Champagne, murdered by the side of their coach, for merely endeavouring to shew them some marks of respect. He fell pierced with three musket balls, crying *Vive le Roi*, while his assassins drowned his voice with shouts of *Vive la Nation*.

While the royal captives were thus proceeding towards the capital, the assembly were engaged in receiving deputations and framing decrees: at ten o'clock at night they received the welcome tidings of the king's arrest, and decreed that Latour-Maubourg, Petion, and Barnave, members of the assembly, all distinguished for their opposition to the court, and M. Dumas, adjutant-general of the national guards, should escort them to Paris. The decree was accompanied with a recommendation to maintain the respect  
 23d and due to the royal dignity. The ensuing days  
 24th. were occupied in processions, swearing of the national guards and others to maintain the law, and in a discussion in which Robespierre and Rewbell strongly

strongly intimated the necessity of deposing the king. M. de Montmorin was called to the bar, and with difficulty justified himself for signing the passport with which the royal family were furnished, though it appeared to have been demanded by the Russian minister for the baroness Kroff and her family, and issued without deviation from the ordinary forms. Drouet too was admitted, and gave a long rambling narrative of arresting the royal family, which was loudly applauded; and Alexander Beauharnois the president, made him a complimentary answer, and invited him to the honours of the sitting\*.

The next day, at seven o'clock, the president received a letter from the commissioners, 25th. announcing that the royal family would arrive in Paris between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. The assembly, notwithstanding vehement opposition from Malouet, a courageous royalist, decreed that on their arrival at the Tuilleries, the king, queen, and dauphin, should be separately guarded, and their declarations heard without delay, to serve as a basis for the proceedings of the assembly; and in the mean time their former decree was to remain in force, enabling

\* The narrative of Drouet, some particulars of which he afterwards contradicted, confirmed many in their opinion that La Fayette had discovered the king's intention and planned the frustration of it. I have examined the probability of this conjecture in the Biographical Memoirs, article La Fayette, but have no reason for pronouncing on it with confidence.



CH. III.

1791.

the ministers to fix the seal to edicts of the assembly without the king's concurrence. This plan for suspending the royal authority was ushered in by a declaration of the impossibility of allowing the original relation between the national assembly and the king still to subsist, or having the executive power vested where dispositions existed manifestly hostile to the constitution. The reasonings by which it was supported were of the same class, and Malouet persisting in his opposition was repeatedly asked if he meant to get himself assassinated.

The royal family in their slow progress to Paris were surrounded by an immense multitude; and it was more than once suspected that attempts would be made against their lives. In the carriage with the king, queen, princess Elizabeth, the dauphin, and the princess-royal, sat the three commissioners from the assembly: this crowd, the heat of the day, and the dust raised by the guards and mob, incommoded them almost to fainting; but their complaints excited only derision or insult. On their arrival in the capital, they were received with gloomy silence and studied disrespect: an order was placarded, importing, that whoever applauded the king should be bastinadoed; whoever insulted him, hanged. At his appearance the cry was circulated, "Hats on, let nobody be uncovered;" and, in the immense crowd, only one royalist, M. Guilhermy, a member of the assembly, had the courage to disobey: the national guards were forbid to pre-  
sent

sent their arms; and the three *gardes du corps* who CH. III.  
1791. attended the royal family in their journey, being brought into the city bound, were with difficulty rescued from the rabble, who attempted tearing them to pieces: they were conducted to the Abbaye, and their corps disbanded by the assembly \*.

The examinations of the king and queen 26th  
June. were taken by commissioners from the assembly; those of the other persons arrested, by commissioners from the section of the Tuilleries. The king refused submitting to an examination, but consented to explain the facts referred to in the decree. He assigned as motives of his departure the insults to which he had been exposed on the 18th of April, and the pamphlets published to excite violence against himself and family. As these insults remained unpunished, and he expected neither safety nor common decency while he remained at Paris, he wished to leave it; but was obliged to quit the palace privately, and without attendants, because it would have been impossible to do it publicly. He did not intend to fly the kingdom, nor had he concerted his plan with foreign powers, or with his relations, or any other Frenchmen who had quitted the kingdom. As a proof that he did not mean to leave France, he observed that apartments were prepared for him at

\* For details of these events see Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. pages 63, 458. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 328 et seq. Books of history and anecdotes, periodical works, debates, and Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. c. xli. xlii.

CH. III.

1791.

Montmedy; a place which he selected because it was fortified and near the frontiers, where he could have repelled an invasion if attempted. One of his principal motives for leaving Paris was to overthrow the argument drawn from his not being at liberty; and he observed, that if it had been his intention to escape from the kingdom he should not have published his memorial on the very day he left Paris, but deferred it till he had passed the frontiers. Monsieur, he said, went out of France, because it was agreed that both parties should not take the same road: he was afterwards to have joined the king. The passport was taken for a foreign country, because the office for foreign affairs did not issue any for the interior of the kingdom. He explained the complaints in his memorial as referring to the manner in which the constitutional decrees had been separately presented to him, but declared that, having in the course of his journey found the public opinion decidedly in favour of the constitution, he had become convinced how necessary it was for the prosperity of the constitution to give force to the powers established to maintain public order. The moment he was acquainted with the public will he did not hesitate to sacrifice himself, and all that individually concerned himself, to the happiness of the people; and he would willingly forget the disagreeable events he had experienced, to restore peace and tranquillity to the nation. The queen's declaration was short, corroborated some points in  
that



that of the king, and expressed her resolution to accompany him on every occasion ; but had he designed to quit the kingdom, she would have used all her influence in dissuading him.

CH. III.  
1791.

The king's declaration certainly contained statements not conformable to strict truth ; but these, we are told \*, were sent to him by some leaders of the constitutional party, as the only means of averting the design, which was now openly professed, of bringing him and the queen to trial. The papers found on some officers of the regiment *Royal Allemand*, confirmed the statement, that no intention was entertained of leaving the kingdom ; and M. de Bouillé, who had escaped from France, wrote to the assembly, avowing himself the only instigator of the journey ; a measure which drew on him the censure of that body, but did not serve the royal cause so much as he expected. All the documents were referred to committees of the assembly.

The exertions of the new republican faction to procure the king's trial, now gave serious alarm, not only to the royalists, but to the friends of the constitution. At their instigation addresses and petitions were daily presented, requiring the king's deposition, and even his execution ; but it was observed, that the idea of abolishing the royal office was not yet made familiar to the public mind. Cordercet, Brissot, and

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 198.

CH. III. Thomas Paine, established a periodical paper, called  
 1791. *Le Républicain*, in which they boldly avowed opinions hostile to monarchical government; but they were answered by several writers, and among others, the Abbé Sieyès; and their work did not meet with sufficient encouragement to be continued beyond two or three numbers \*. An opinion more current, and more acceptable, was, that the king would be deposed, the dauphin proclaimed, and a regent, or council of regency, established during his minority. The decree of the assembly for taking his education out of the hands of his parents, and bestowing it on some person appointed by themselves, gave credibility to this opinion; and the duke of Orleans recommended himself to popularity by publicly renouncing all claim, which, as prince of the blood nearest to the throne, the constitution might give him to the office of regent. This proceeding excited different animadversions: the duke was known to be, at the same period, actively intriguing to the king's prejudice; and it was said that his renunciation of the regency was made in hopes that the assembly would call him to the throne.

While intrigue was thus busy in every quarter against the unfortunate sovereign, he was the victim of redoubled and unrestrained insolence: La Fayette,

\* Moore's View, vol. II. p. 375.

desirous perhaps to remove the imputation of having been accessory to their escape, confined the royal family with the utmost strictness, and watched them with unabating jealousy : guards were even placed on the roof of the palace ; and it was observed of this general, that with the office he acquired the manners of a jailor. The task of framing a report on the events of the 21st of June, was referred to the united committees of the assembly ; and while they were preparing their opinion the city was agitated by innumerable pamphlets and placards. The question whether the king should be put on his trial occupied all conversation, and every one decided on it with equal positiveness, according to his affection or hatred, his hopes or his fears, his private judgment, or the dictates of his party.

All the debates in the national assembly, though not founded on this subject, were so conducted as to shew that it chiefly, if not solely, engaged the thoughts of the members. The royalists were silent on almost every occasion, and prudently so, since their exertions would only have given additional vigour and popularity to the republicans, and perhaps disgusted the constitutionalists, who now began openly to espouse the royal cause. But though they were silent in the hall of the legislature, they published an address to the people, which produced a powerful effect in favour of their cause ; and was circulated throughout the kingdom with the recommendation of two hundred

CH. III.  
1791.



CH. III. dred and ninety of their signatures \*. The Spanish  
 1791. 9th July. ambassador also presented from his sovereign a mild conciliatory paper in favour of the king ; but the assembly treated it with great rudeness, and ordered their minister for foreign affairs to answer, that France would never interfere in the affairs of other nations, nor permit their interference in hers.

At length the committees declaring themselves prepared, a call of the names of members of the assembly was gone through, and the 13th of July appointed for hearing the report. On that day 13th July. an eloquent and persuasive tract, of thirty-two pages, entitled, *Le Regne de Louis XVI. mis sous les yeux de l'Europe*, was profusely distributed ; and supposed to produce the most beneficial effects among the members of the assembly, and even the public.

Muguet de Nanthou, reporter from the committees, recited all the facts drawn from the declarations of the king and queen, and the examinations of other persons, and discussed at length the question whether the king should be brought to trial. On the first point it was considered as demonstrated that the whole blame must be ascribed to the marquis de Bouillé, and on the other, that the constitution as well as simple reason proved the negative.

\* See Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 212.

This report was debated with great fierceness during two days, in which the constitutional party would not press their advantages to the utmost, but indulged the wild speculations of Robespierre, Petion, Prieur, and Rewbell, and permitted the reading of several incendiary petitions. A decree was at length adopted, providing that if the king, after having sworn to the constitution, should retract, or if he should put himself at the head of a military force, or direct his generals to act against the nation, or forbear to oppose any such attempt by an authentic act, he should be judged to have abdicated the throne; and should then be considered as a simple citizen, and subject to impeachment in the ordinary forms, for all crimes committed after his abdication. Immediately after passing this decree, the assembly proceeded to the vote on that relative to the events of the 21st of June, and decided exactly in the mode prescribed by the report of the committees.

CH. III.  
1791.

16th.

So sudden a termination of the question was considered, and perhaps justly, as a manœuvre for preventing the efforts of the republicans and Orleansists, who were known to be very busy among the clubs and the sections, and from whom petitions, deputations, and even insurrections, were expected. This opinion is confirmed by the conduct of Robespierre, who, in a transport of fury, rushed out of the hall, exclaiming to the mob, "All is lost, my friends,

CH. III. friends, the king is to be restored!" The royalists;  
 1791. though sensible of the dangers from which the royal family had been rescued, were not entirely satisfied with the termination of the affair; they saw with horror a system established which proposed, as a possible case, the deposition of the monarch; and were indignant at another decree, by which he was still suspended from the exercise of his functions till the completion and acceptance of the constitution \*.

The parties who formed the minority in the assembly would not, however, resign the hope of obtaining through the medium of the people some alteration of the decision. A general council was held, and a meeting planned for the purpose of organising an insurrection, under pretence of preparing a petition. But in this meeting a schism appeared between these parties, which afterwards produced important consequences. Some were anxious to frame the petition in terms which would favour the abolition of royalty; but La Clos, a bosom friend and agent of the duke of Orleans, proposed a paragraph which made an opening for the establishment of his patron on the throne; this addition was objected to by Brissot, and in some copies of the petition rejected, though it was retained in others: the paper was drawn up by a committee of the jacobin club, but copies were sent to every collection of mob in Paris, and

\* See histories and debates.



the next day was appointed to receive signatures on the altar of the country in the Champ de Mars \*.

CH. III.  
1791.

The municipality, apprised of this intention, issued a proclamation, forbidding all assemblies in groups, and ordered their commissioners and the commander-in-chief of the national guard to employ all the means with which the law invested them for the maintenance of tranquillity. The mob were, however, not to be so deterred; they assembled, and commenced the day by hanging, for some imputed crime, a hair-dresser, and an invalid soldier. Three members of the municipality, who attended, were pelted with stones; and La Fayette's life was endangered by a pistol which was discharged at him from a small distance. The assassin was secured, but the general, with ill-timed generosity, suffered him to depart, though he confined several who had been throwing stones.

The violence of the mob still increasing, the municipality ordered martial law to be proclaimed; the red flag was accordingly exhibited from the windows of the town hall, and at seven o'clock in the evening a detachment of the national guard marched to the scene of riot. A violent outcry was immediately raised of *Down with the red flag!—Down with the bayonets!* stones, and even some discharges of mus-

\* See Appeal to Impartial Posterity, by madame Roland, vol. I. p. 60—and Conjuraton d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 143.

Ch. III. kets, followed ; when the military were ordered to fire  
 1791. over the heads of the people. This harmless explosion only augmented their audacity ; and after sustaining repeated insults and violences, the national guard fired with ball, killed and wounded a considerable number, and put the rest to flight\*.

18th. The assembly heard this exploit reported with infinite delight, approving the conduct of the municipality, by whose orders the red flag continued to be displayed till the 7th of August. The constitutional party pursued their victory by obtaining a decree against all who should by placards, advertisements, pamphlets, or speeches, excite insurrection, murder, pillage, or disobedience to the law, and enacting that all accomplices should be punished as principals. This decree, which was a severe libel on all the previous proceedings of the assembly, passed with little opposition : it had the effect of terrifying, even to a degree of ridiculous panic, some of the most forward republicans ; but as it was followed by no effectual exertion, except the seizure of a few printing-presses, and an order to arrest some seditious journalists, which was never executed, the clubs soon resumed their meetings, the journalists their audacity, and the intriguers their correspondence ; and long before the red flag was removed from the town-house, the massacre of the Champ de Mars was pointed out to execration and vengeance.

\* See histories.

When the assembly thus formally renounced the sacred duty of insurrection, they resigned their character of popularity; they proceeded in the completion of the constitution, beset with general contempt, and their dissolution earnestly desired by all parties; by the royalists, because it would be the period of the king's release from confinement and political annihilation, and by the factious, because it would occasion changes favourable to their projects and intrigues. The revision of the constitution produced long debates, in which none but the speakers interested themselves; the prevailing party had not sufficient virtue or magnanimity to restore to the king the portion of authority necessary for preserving the monarchy; nor would the assembly take any effectual measures for prosecuting those who were repeatedly denounced for acts of violence, and exhortations to insurrection in the departments.

The mode in which the constitution was to be presented for the king's acceptance, occasioned the most strenuous debates, and produced some smart contests between avowed royalism, and republicanism slightly concealed. When the assembly had completed its readings and revisions, the new code was presented to the king for his pure and simple acceptance or rejection. A deputation of sixty members waited on him for this purpose, and all comment or explanation being forbidden, he first accepted the constitution in



CH. III. 13th and writing, and then bound himself to maintain  
 1791. 15th Sep. it by an oath.

On the merits and defects of this constitution it is now unnecessary to comment : the rash enthusiasm of premature praise once extolled it to an extravagant height ; but more judicious observers were not wanting, even then, to decry the folly of a system neither monarchical nor republican ; and in which, for want of a blending medium, a permanent aristocracy, the two extremes could never meet. No authority was sufficiently established in force, nor were means left for its maintenance by popular respect. The people, in the widest sense of the word, were left to govern themselves; and all who obtained, even by their momentary favour, the exercise of temporary authority, were exposed without protection to the brutalities which caprice or momentary fury might excite against them. The following description of this deformed first-born of modern philosophy, is at once accurate, just, and spirited \* : “ Never did the union of folly and madness beget a more monstrous offspring. This pretended constitution presented to the eye a misshapen machine, whimsically composed of an infinity of wheels without any mutual relation or dependence. Experience has shewn that it was not in the power of

\* *Eloge Historique et Funébre de Louis XVI. par M. Montjoye, p. 160.*

man to put its grotesque springs in motion. The go- CH. III.  
 vernment framed by these presumptuous legislators 1791.  
 was neither monarchical, aristocratical, nor popular :  
 their constitutional act might at best be considered as  
 the basis of an anarchical monarchy, that is, a real  
 chimera, for death and life cannot subsist in the same  
 body. Had this monster been able to live, those  
 who begot it took great precautions that it might be  
 strangled in the cradle. They had taken from the  
 kingdom its religion, they had annihilated the public  
 force, disorganised the military, and armed those  
 who ought to contribute to the exigencies of the state;  
 and that nothing might be wanting to the deformity  
 of their work, they had carefully destroyed every bar-  
 rier which could prevent the attacks of usurpation or  
 despotism \*."

The

\* The following opinion of the late earl of Mansfield, lord chief justice of the king's bench, is replete with sagacity, and merits particular attention ; it is taken, together with the introductory narrative, from Halliday's Life of Lord Mansfield. " Dr. Turton attended lord Mansfield at Caenwood, in the latter part of his life, The physician was diverted from his attention to his patient's health, by lord Mansfield's turning the subject, and humorously saying, ' Instead of dwelling on an old man's pulse, let me ask you, doctor, what you think of this wonderful French revolution?' The modest answer was, ' It is more material to know what your lordship thinks of it.' Lord Mansfield, without the least interval of suspension, began, ' My dear Turton, how can any two reasonable men think differently on the subject? A nation which, for more than twelve centuries, has made a conspicuous figure in the annals  
of

CH. III. The king was allowed, when the assembly had  
 1791. completed the constitutional act, to enjoy a little more liberty than before; which was perhaps found necessary, to obviate the charge of his not being free when he accepted it. After his acceptance was announced, La Fayette obtained a decree that all persons arrested in consequence of the escape on the 21st of June should be set at liberty; all legal proceedings relative to the events of the revolution superseded; and the use of passports and temporary restraints discontinued. Yet when the king attended in the hall to take the oath, his coming was preceded by a debate, in consequence of which the order of the Holy Ghost was abolished: the members instead of paying the accustomed compliment of standing while

of Europe; a nation, where the polite arts first flourished in the northern hemisphere, and found an asylum against the barbarous incursions of the Goths and Vandals; a nation, whose philosophers and men of science cherished and improved civilisation, and grafted on the feudal system, *the best of all systems*, their laws respecting the descents and various modifications of territorial property: to think that a nation like this should not, in the course of so many centuries, have learnt something worth preserving, should not have hit upon some little code of laws, or a few principles sufficient to form one! Idiots! who instead of retaining what was valuable, sound, and energetic, in their constitution, have at once sunk into barbarity, lost sight of first principles, and brought forward a far-rago of laws fit for Botany Bay! It is enough to fill the mind with astonishment and abhorrence! A constitution like this may survive that of an old man, but nothing less than a miracle can protect and transmit it to posterity.'"



while he spoke, sat down; and his chair was reduced, CH. III.  
 by a rule, to the size of the presiden's, who sat on a 1791.  
 level with him, and on his right hand. The consti-  
 tutional act was proclaimed with studied so- 18th.  
 lemnity, but little real joy was exhibited;  
 and on the ensuing Sunday, a grand Te 25th  
 Deum was performed in the church of Notre Dame.

During its short remaining existence, the legisla-  
 ture was employed in the hasty formation of de-  
 crees according to the exigency of circumstances;  
 one of the most remarkable and least regarded was  
 that which deprived the clubs of their political exist-  
 ence, and forbade their interference with the acts of  
 the constituted authorities, or assuming a collective  
 name either in the formation of petitions or deputa-  
 tions, or in attending public ceremonies. On 30th.  
 the last day of sitting, Bailly and Pastoret  
 attended with deputations of the department and mu-  
 nicipality of Paris, extolling the conduct of the legisla-  
 tors, and predicting everlasting stability to the consti-  
 tution. At three o'clock the king made them a  
 final harangue, to which the president returned a  
 complimentary answer, and after his majesty's de-  
 parture proclaimed the dissolution of the assembly.

At leaving the hall some deputies were applauded,  
 and some insulted by the mob: Petion and Robes-  
 pierre gained the warmest acclamations; civic crowns  
 were placed on their brows, and the people would  
 have drawn them in their carriages, but they declined  
 this

CH. III. this mark of attachment. “ Thus terminated,” says  
 1791. M. Bertrand de Moleville \*, “ this guilty assembly,  
 whose vanity, ambition, cupidity, ingratitude, ig-  
 norance, and audacity, have overturned the most an-  
 cient and noblest monarchy of Europe ; and rendered  
 France the theatre of every crime, of every calamity,  
 and of the most horrid catastrophes.” The general  
 result of their labours is given by a writer of talents  
 widely different from the author last quoted †. “ The  
 duration of the constituent assembly was two years  
 and four months, in which period 3540 persons were  
 put to death, 123 chateaux burnt, 56 supposed  
 conspiracies detected, 71 insurrections broke out, and  
 2557 laws were enacted.”

\* Annals, vol. IV. p. 370.

† Prud' homme Histoire Générale et Impartiale des Erreurs, des  
 Fautes, et des Crimes, commis pendant la Révolution Française, tom.  
 VI. Tableau Général.

## CHAP. IV.

*Examination of the Views and Conduct of Foreign Powers towards France—M. de Montmorin's Plan of pretended Hostility—Project at Mantua—Rejected by Louis XVI. and the Queen—Imaginary Plots fabricated by their Enemies—Supposed Treaty of Pavia—Conference at Pilnitz—Its Effects—Meeting of the new National Assembly—First Proceedings—General Character—The King opens the Session—Projects of the Popular Party—Change of Ministry—The King's Efforts to recal the Emigrants—Decree of the Assembly against them—Sanction refused—Decrees against the Nonjuring Clergy—Sanction also refused—Massacre at Avignon—Insurrections and Massacres at St. Domingo—Relief afforded by Lord Effingham—Ingratitude of the Assembly—Exertions to occasion a War—Complaints against the Electors of Mentz and Treves—Message to the King—Address of Anacharsis Clootz—The King's Speech to the Assembly—Address of Thanks—Encouragement given by the French Legislature to the Emigrants and disaffected Persons of other Nations—The French Emigrants dismissed from Treves and Worms—Conduct of Sweden, Russia and Spain—Letter of the Emperor of Germany—Brissot's Speech—Condorcet's Manifesto—Petion elected Mayor*  
*of*



*of Paris—Establishment and Suppression of the Club of  
Feyllans—General Contempt of the Legislators.*

CH. IV. **A**MONG the subjects of anxiety bequeathed by the  
1791. constituent assembly to their successors, was the report  
of an intended invasion by several great continental  
powers, united to support the claims of the emigrant  
nobles and prelates, and intending to dismember the  
French territory.

The injury and injustice done to the foreign feudal  
proprieters in Lorraine and Alsace, by the decrees of  
the assembly, could neither be palliated nor denied;  
the tyranny which had driven the nobles and princes  
to emigration, was apparent to all the world; and  
those who treated their just indignation, and well-  
founded claims, with the derision of triumphant op-  
pression, could advance against them nothing founded  
on reason, or truth, and were therefore more anxious  
to render their cause unpopular, by the imputation of  
unreal crimes, and allegations of unfounded inten-  
tions, than to prove their own conduct just, by re-  
ference to general or local law.

It could not be expected, that the other branches  
of the house of Bourbon would, without indigna-  
tion, behold the chief of their line detained in unme-  
rited captivity by his own subjects, and the princes of  
the blood seeking shelter and soliciting precarious  
protection in foreign courts; or that the emperor,  
who was proud to derive his origin from the Cæsars,  
could,

could, without impatience, hear of the intolerable indignities offered by the lowest of mankind to his own filier. Yet any interference by these sovereigns was a matter of the nicest delicacy; the assembly always artfully invited the princes back to the possession of their estates, and made the king disavow all their complaints and proceedings, while it was obvious to all, except those who deceived themselves in order the more easily to deceive others, that the attempt to resume their rights would cost the princes their lives; and that the king signed upon compulsion, or in consequence of treacherous advice, letters and proclamations, unfounded in truth, and repugnant to his principles and knowledge.

Ch. IV.  
1791.

Mention has been made in the preceding chapter of the plan approved by Louis on the suggestion of M. de Montmorin, for combining the various princes, whom blood or interest called into such an alliance, in a mock attack on France, not for the purpose of influencing the people, or legislature, to adopt through terror any particular mode of conduct, but of gaining for the king the command of an army which might contribute to the restoration of his authority, and rendering him more beloved by his subjects as the restorer of peace. The plan appears impolitic and trifling, and a sagacious politician could hardly expect that so many powers would incur the expence and trouble of marching armies towards a foreign frontier, without seeking an indemnity, or raising some topic of dispute among

CH. IV. among themselves, in which the monarch, for whose  
 1791. benefit they were ostensibly armed, must in some way become a party, and to which a portion of his dominions might become an unexpected sacrifice. These consequences were not, however, in contemplation when the plan was formed. Some of the potentates whose assistance was relied on, had agreed to the proposal; but no view of personal aggrandisement had yet entered their minds, as they desisted from arming after the events of the 18th of April, and would not approach the frontier when the king declared himself the patron of the constitution, though circumstances still more inviting presented themselves, and motives of aggression were abundant.

The emperor did not, however, abandon the cause of his august relatives: count Alphonse Durfort, a confidential person employed after the 18th of April, to make the count d'Artois acquainted with the situation of the king and queen, was intrusted at Florence with a new plan proposed by the emperor, and finally arranged on the 20th of May, between him, the count d'Artois, M. de Calonne, and M. d'Escars, at Mantua. It was in substance, that the emperor, the Swiss circles, and the kings of Spain and Sardinia, should raise a force of a hundred thousand men, to march in five columns, in due proportions, towards the contiguous frontiers, where they were to be joined by the loyal regiments and the royalists. Prussia was not to interfere, and the neutrality of  
 England



England was stated as a momentous acquisition. The CH. IV.  
1791. sovereigns were to issue, at a fixed period, a joint proclamation, founded on a declaration in which all the princes of the house of Bourbon were previously to concur, and, lest the queen should suffer from the fury of the French populace, they were to take the lead, though the emperor was avowedly the soul of the compact. The parliaments of France were to be restored, as necessary to the re-establishment of forms; the king and queen were recommended to increase their popularity, in hopes that the people, alarmed at the approach of foreign armies, would seek safety only in the king's mediation, and in submission to his authority. They were particularly enjoined not to quit Paris; and July or August was indicated as the period when preparations would be completed.

It is not necessary to discuss the faults or merits of this project for terrifying the whole French nation by a force of a hundred thousand men, scattered on five points of their frontier, since it was rejected both by Louis and the queen: he objected to the assembling of the parliaments in any but a judicial capacity; both concurred in the necessity of quitting Paris, and refused to recal the orders given to M. de Bouillé: consequently the emperor's plan was not put in force; nor were the particulars divulged till more than two years after the death of the king \*.

\* In Moore's View, &c. published in 1795, vol. II. p. 308, et seq. and Bertrand's Annals, published in 1800, vol. IV. p. 58, et seq. See also his Correspondence with Mr. Fox, Annals, vol. IX. p. 56.

Though

## CH. IV.

1791.

Though the enemies of the king and queen had never been able to acquire intelligence respecting these unexecuted projects, they imputed to the sovereigns of the houses of Bourbon and Austria, and to the emigrants, numerous other designs. They accused the king of authorising the count d'Artois to levy troops in his name; a charge which he was obliged positively and explicitly to deny: and they rendered their motions against the emigrants more popular, by continually reporting to the assembly new narratives of the formidable force they were raising on the frontier. Yet all their fears were unfounded in reason, and capable of refutation from the mere view of political affairs in general. "I saw nothing," says M. de Bouillé, after mentioning the great emigrations which followed the king's arrest at Varennes, "I saw nothing which denoted any preparations against France, by foreign powers: the emperor had not yet concluded a peace with the Turks; hostilities, it is true, had ceased, but it was impossible to foresee that union which afterwards took place between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, for the purpose of terminating the disasters by which France was distracted\*."

Such futile intimations of general dangers could not produce much permanent effect; a bolder scheme was therefore tried, by publishing as authentic the substance of a pretended treaty made at Pavia, in

\* Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 385.

July, 1791, between Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain, for dismembering France, and dividing amongst the contracting powers a large portion of her territories\*. Although every circumstance respecting the relative situations of the parties to this pretended compact, the terms of their agreement, and even the clumsy ignorance with which the names of monarchs and ministers are affixed to the same paper, gave internal evidence of its fabrication, and although it was well known that at the time of its supposed execution not one of the supposed subscribers was at Pavia, yet the stupid forgery was a topic of declamation in France, and served as a theme to the advocates of the French cause in other countries †.

The temporary credit assigned to this “weak invention,” was reinforced by an incident involved in obscurity, and partially avowed. A conference was held between the emperor and the king of Prussia, at which some conspicuous emigrants were present, and in which the affairs of France were in some manner discussed; and on that basis, without a shadow of proof, the jacobins boldly asserted that a treaty of dismemberment was then agreed on, to which many other courts afterwards became parties. The facts

\* See this pretended treaty in Debrett's Collection of Papers, vol. I. p. 1.

† It is signed LEOPOLD—PRINCE NASSAU—COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA—BISCHOFFSWERDER. For an examination of it, equally judicious and ingenious, see Anti-jacobin, No. XIV.



CH. IV. relative to this celebrated interview are thus detailed  
 1791. by the most credible authors.

The emperor and the king of Prussia having in view some arrangements of a nature too delicate for the common diplomatic forms of negociation, met at the castle of Pilnitz, in Upper Saxony, to discuss them in person. At this place the brothers of Louis XVI. obtained permission to attend; and the imperial and Prussian sovereigns, at their request, took into consideration their representations on the state of France; and its probable effects on the other nations of Europe. The king of Prussia had previously received from M. de Bouillé a plan for the disposition and operations of foreign armies on different parts of the French frontier; it was approved by a council, at which the marshals de Broglie and Castries assisted, and Frederick-William appeared so anxious to put it in execution, that M. de Bouillé, not doubting a speedy declaration of war, wrote his sentiments to the king of Sweden, in whose service he was then engaged, and joined the other parties at Pilnitz.

The meeting took place on the 25th of August, when the emperor and the king of Prussia speedily arranged the compact which had occasioned the interview, but they differed entirely on the measures to be pursued respecting France. Frederick-William was eager for hostilities, but Leopold, considering the danger of his sister and her family, and influenced perhaps by other political considerations, was anxious

to try all pacific measures; both, however, concurred in viewing with jealousy the person and preparations of the king of Sweden, who was employed in raising a force to succour the French king. With such diversities of views no extensive operation could be agreed upon; but the Baron de Spielmann, the emperor's minister, M. de Bischofswerder for the king of Prussia, and M. de Calonne on behalf of the French princes, drew up a declaration, which was settled after long debates; and the princes obtained nothing more from the conference than this paper, and a secret convention that the emperor and king of Prussia should each furnish twelve thousand men on the frontiers of the Rhine, to support the army of the emigrants, to demonstrate unequivocally their protection of the French princes, and to urge the concurrence of other powers.

In this paper, signed by themselves, and delivered to the comte d'Artois, Leopold and Frederick-William declared their opinion that the situation of the king of France was an object of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe. They hoped that interest would be recognised by other powers, who would not refuse to employ, in conjunction with them, the most efficacious means, according to their abilities, in enabling Louis to establish at perfect liberty the foundations of a monarchical government, equally agreeable to the rights of sovereigns, and the welfare of the French; *then and in that case*, their majesties

**CH. IV.** were determined to act promptly with the forces  
1791. necessary to the end proposed, and, in the mean time, order their troops to be in readiness.

The conditional terms *then and in that case*, prove that this declaration was dependent for its effect on the concurrence of other powers: it was dated the 27th of August, and had a copy reached Louis XVI. in time to prevent his pure and unconditional acceptance of the constitution, it might have produced beneficial results. The vigilance of La Fayette, however, impeded all access to the king; and the princes, baffled in all their endeavours, published the declaration in the gazettes. This step was in every respect unfortunate; the king had already accepted the constitution, and consequently the declaration could not influence his conduct, or that of the legislature. His acceptance being pure, unconditional, and apparently free, deprived the foreign powers of a pretence for interfering; and the emperor and king of Prussia no longer considered themselves engaged in the cause of Louis. Thus the paper had no other effect than exciting alarm among the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, flattering the emigrants with hopes which could not be realised, and incensing to additional acrimony their persecutors in France. It gave to the democratic party an opportunity of calumniating the persons, cause, and conduct, of crowned heads; and representing themselves as the defenders of a country devoted to plunder and partition for having dared to legislate



legislate for itself. These sentiments were rendered the CH. IV.  
1791. more current, and gained the more general assent, by the impudent contrivance of blending the avowed declaration of Pilnitz with the imaginary treaty of Pavia; and by confidently asserting that the king was perfectly free when he accepted the constitution, and the nation extremely generous, when they permitted him, on any terms, to retain his crown \*.

Had every motive of inquietude or suspicion 1st Oct. been wanting, the members of the new national assembly were fraught with dispositions to render the situation of the executive power arduous and vexatious. The learning, talents, judgment, and genius, which were found in many members of the former legislature, were scattered, in very small portions among those who composed the new, or, as it is commonly denominated, legislative assembly; while the principles of atheism, republicanism, and plunder, which the most violent of the other body sparingly avowed, were daily themes among the most popular and best informed of this. The attacks on the throne,

\* For the declaration signed at Pilnitz, see Debrett's State Paper, vol. I. p. 2, and all the periodical works relating to the period. It is also to be found with the narratives concerning it in Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 420, and Bertrand's Annals, vol. IV. p. 339. et seq. Herbert Marsh's History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, vol. I. p. 33. See also Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. Roi de Prusse, par L. P. Ségur l'ainé, vol. II. p. 189; and for a complete investigation of the whole transaction, and the fiction founded on it, see the Anti-jacobin, No. XX.

Ch. IV. the altar, rank, and property, which the constituent  
 1791. assembly had begun to consider as having been carried too far for public security, the legislative assembly renewed with additional violence, increasing acrimony, and a petty malignity which extended even to the most unimportant objects. In their first sittings they took the oaths to support the constitution, and to *live free or die*, three times, amid the shouts and exultations of the galleries; they then, after long and scurrilous debates, decided that it was degrading to the representatives of a free nation to use the terms *Sire* and *Your Majesty* in addressing the king; that when he appeared among them, they should receive him standing and uncovered, but should afterwards sit down and put on their hats; that the chair, gilt and carved with *fleurs-de-lys*, which the former assembly had provided for the king, was scandalous for its luxury, and should be changed for a plain black one, similar to, and on the left hand of the president's; and that no other title should be used in speaking to the king, but that of "King of the French."

The sentiment of decorum and respect was not yet so entirely extinguished, but that the nation saw, with great anger, the attempts of the new legislature, to degrade the chief magistrate without pretending to assign a cause, or propose a benefit. These feelings were the more lively, when they considered of whom this assembly was composed: the majority were among the very lowest classes of society, except that of criminals.

criminals. The sweepings of monasteries, the scum of colleges, the refuse of printing-offices, the lowest class of literati, with bankrupt tradesmen, poor farmers, and even discarded menials, formed the mass of those legislators, who were reinforced by Condorcet, Brissot, and other leaders of the republican party from Roland's, and encouraged by the most violent of the jacobin and cordelier orators out of doors.

Ch. IV.  
1791.

Their first effort of insolence was repelled by a declaration from the king, that in consequence of their suppressing the marks of respect generally paid him, he would not open the session in person. The assembly immediately saw their error, and by revoking the decree, induced the king to change this determination; but speedily afterwards similar contests were generated; and the assembly was entertained for several days with vehement discussions on the indignity offered to a deputation of their members, by opening only one folding-door of the presence-chamber for their admittance.

When the king first appeared, he was warmly greeted with cries of *Vive le roi!* and, in a more emphatical manner, *Vive sa majesté!* His speech was prudent and temperate, recommending the grand objects of legislative attention, enforcing the necessity of harmony and confidence between the legislative body and himself. The president returned a dutiful and complimentary answer, promising to unite in purifying



CH. IV. rifying the laws, encouraging public credit, and com-  
 1791. pleting the suppression of anarchy.

Far from proceeding in a manner calculated to fulfil these promises, every measure of the assembly tended to a contrary effect. The popular party had several great objects in view, towards which all their motions and manœuvres tended. Perhaps it might be more correct to say they had one great object, that of gaining to themselves all the power, wealth, and patronage, of the kingdom; the means of attaining which were, the frequent change of ministers, which should deprive the throne of all authority; the seizure of emigrant property, and oppression of the non-juring clergy, in order to create unpopular opposition on the part of the king; and a war so extensive and dangerous, as to give constant inquietude, and absorb a considerable portion of the public attention. Several subordinate measures were combined with these greater efforts: as those for confirming and extending the authority of the clubs; the encouragement of publications violently seditious; and the acquisition of such posts as included a considerable influence over the populace, for their own adherents.

Soon after the sitting of the legislative assembly, M. Thevenard resigned the office of minister of the marine, which was reluctantly occupied by M. Bertrand de Moleville, a gentleman of great intelligence and spirit, and who had, on many occasions, evinced his entire devotion

devotion to the person and cause of his sovereign \*. CH. IV.

The assembly required, from all the ministers  
 conjointly, an account of the external and 8th.  
 internal state of the kingdom; their impatience to  
 obtain these documents gave room for many intem-  
 perate speeches and denunciations: and after several  
 quarrels and refusals of appointment, which are not  
 of sufficient importance to record, an entire  
 change was effected in the cabinet. 2d Nov. M. de  
 Lessart held the office of minister for foreign affairs, re-  
 signed by Montmorin; M. de Narbonne succeeded M.  
 de Portail in the war department; and M. Cahier de  
 Gerville took the post of minister of the interior, va-  
 cated by de Lessart. These changes, though not  
 entirely conformable to the wishes of the jacobin  
 party, afforded them considerable satisfaction, as they  
 proved their power over the throne; and the difficul-  
 ties expressed by several persons to whom places were  
 offered, shewed that the demagogues were formidable,  
 even to the cabinet.

When the king had accepted the constitution, the  
 principal powers of Europe abandoned every inten-

\* See Bertrand's Annals, vol. I. p. 5, and his Private Memoirs of  
 the last Year of the Reign of Louis XVI. vol. I. p. 212. M. de The-  
 venard had before his retreat abridged the patronage of his office, by  
 making a general promotion; and secured himself some friends by  
 advancing the duke of Orleans to the post of admiral; an appoint-  
 ment he had long and ardently desired. Private Memoirs, vol. I.  
 p. 228.

CH. IV. tion of arming against France; and in their private  
 1791. correspondence with M. de Montmorin, explicitly and repeatedly avowed their determination\*; the emigrants, therefore, consulted neither the dignity of their own characters, nor the safety of the monarch to whom they were attached, in continuing absent from their country. The decree of amnesty, with respect to revolutionary crimes, afforded them means of returning to the kingdom, where their presence and courage would have given strength, consistency, and even popularity, to the royalist party; but, unhappily, they could not renounce the hope they had been once permitted to entertain, of receiving foreign assistance. Emigration increased at the very moment when every exertion was necessary to support the throne: the priests were justified in escaping from a persecution which they could not resist: but, besides great numbers belonging to other classes, the greater part of the naval and military officers emigrated; expecting, perhaps, that the army and navy would petition for their return.

The king, as well as his ministers, saw the impropriety of this conduct, and the futility of the  
 14th Oct. hopes on which it was founded: he issued a proclamation, tending to repress emigration, and recall those who had quitted the kingdom, and reinforced

\* See the emperor's circular dispatch; and note, Debrett's State Papers, vol. I. p. 150, 152.



it by letters separately addressed to the princes, and officers in the sea and land service. The princes, however, being persuaded that the king was not at liberty to follow the dictates of his own judgment, and inferring from the style of the letters, that even if he concurred in writing them, he was misguided and ill advised, declared their resolution to continue in their present situation, till they should have procured for the catholic religion due respect; and for the king liberty and legislative authority.

CH. IV.  
1791.

The assembly began their attack on the emigrants before the receipt of this refusal. Having prepared the public by their journals, and filled the galleries with their creatures, Brissot, the chief projector and orator of the popular party, opened a debate, which, after many modifications, and several adjournments, produced a decree summoning Monsieur to return to France within two months, on pain of forfeiting his right to the regency. This edict obtaining some applause, the new legislature, disdaining the scruples which had influenced the committee of the constituent assembly to declare all laws against emigration incompatible with the general rights of man, decreed, that all the French assembled beyond the frontiers of the kingdom were *suspected* of a conspiracy, and if they continued so assembled on the 1st day of January, they were to be declared *guilty*; and all civil and military officers then absent were included. A supreme national court

30th.

20th.

31st.

8th Nov.

was

**CH. IV.** was to be convoked in January, if necessary; and the  
 1791. incomes of conspirators to be received for the use of the nation, saving the rights of wives, children, and creditors. All revenues of the French princes were to be sequestered; and no maintenance or pension paid to them directly or indirectly. Public officers absent from the kingdom without cause, were declared to have forfeited their offices and emoluments, and the rights of active citizens for ever. Military officers, in the like predicament, were declared guilty of desertion, and to be punished like common soldiers; and modes of prosecution to be instituted against them were specified and directed. Persons enlisting, or enrolling recruits, in or out of the kingdom, for the purpose of joining the emigrants, were to be punished with death.

This dreadful, sanguinary, and unconstitutional law, which denounced guilt where the constitution had supposed none, which was stained with blood and plunder in every line, and proposed punishments not sanctioned by the law, nor reconcileable to its forms, terminated all expectation of a return of the emigrants, and gave wings to those whose flight had hitherto been restrained by prudential considerations. They found no security in the law of the constituent assembly, permitting them to travel without passports, but saw their persons and properties involved in general proscriptions, as deserters and conspirators, without the

the pretence of proving against them either conspiracy or desertion. CH. IV.  
1791.

The decree was not obtained without debates, scandalous for their tumultuous indecency; its effect, however, gratified the views of the faction who framed it, to their utmost expectation. The ministry, after a minute discussion, concurred in advising the king to withhold his sanction; and in order to render this first exercise of his constitutional prerogative more striking, attended the assembly in a body to announce it. M. de Lessart, whose office it was to deliver this message, had prepared a speech to vindicate the proceeding; but having first declared the king's determination *to consider of the decree*, and hesitating at the moment when he ought to have commenced a detail of the motives, and of the measures which the king had adopted to prevent emigration, and to procure the return of the royal family, the assembly tumultuously refused him a hearing; and the subject was left unexplained to be misrepresented by the jacobins\*.

In their attack on the nonjuring priests, the demagogues of the assembly conducted themselves even with less caution or regard to decency, than they had observed towards the emigrants. The tribunes daily resounded with declamations and denunciations against

\* See debates on the days alluded to, and the various histories; also Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. pp. 23, 34, 66, 84, and Private Memoirs, vol. I. p. 251.

them,



CH. IV. them, equally vague and false ; and they were accused  
 1791. of all the insurrections and troubles which were raised  
 in different parts of the kingdom, in consequence of the  
 persecutions to which, in defiance of the law, they were  
 made victims. A denunciation from Caen  
 11th Nov. was adopted by Isnard, as the basis of sanguinary  
 measures against them, and he intimated  
 that intentions were entertained of extending similar  
 14th. severities to *their superiors*. In three days he  
 returned to the charge\*, and obtained a decree,

\* Isnard's sanguinary and atheistical speech on this occasion was distinguished for those traits of ferocity and inhumanity, against which he and other members of his faction (the Brissotines) afterwards so loudly inveighed. "A great revolution has taken place in France," he said, "but it is not terminated, the *creative crisis* is over, the *protective crisis* begins. It cost the English fifty years of calamity before they obtained their boasted phantom of liberty. *True and complete liberty is not to be purchased but with rivers of blood.* Look at the Low-countries, at Switzerland, and at America. Do you think the French revolution the most astonishing the sun ever shone upon,—a revolution which suddenly snatches from despotism his iron sceptre, from aristocracy its rods, and from theocracy its golden mines ; which roots up the feudal oak, strikes with lightning the parliamentary cypress, overturns the pedestal of nobility, disarms persecution, tears the monk's gown, stifles chicanery, and destroys all tenures ; *which is perhaps about to compel every crown to bow before the laws, and to spread happiness throughout the world ;* do you think such a revolution can be effected peaceably ? Let the nonjuring priests," he proceeded, "against whom there is any complaint, be all driven from the kingdom ; and if those complaints are supported by proofs, let them be condemned to death. *This*  
*rigorous*

decree, compelling all priests to appear before the municipality, and take the civic oath, subscribing their names to the minutes of their compliance. Those who refused were to be deprived of their pensions, considered as *suspected* of rebellion against the law, and of evil designs against their country, and therefore *recommended to the vigilance of the constituted authorities*. If a nonjuring ecclesiastic was found in any commune where disturbances happened, he was to be removed; and if found guilty of abetting them, to be imprisoned in the capital of the department for two years. This invasion of the small portion of freedom and property left to the clergy by the constituent assembly, passed after vehement and tumultuous debates; in which, however, the division did not arise out of any design to protect these unfortunate objects of philosophical persecution, but from differences of opinion on the policy of the measures to be adopted. 29th Nov.

CH. IV.  
1791.

To this decree the king determined also to refuse his sanction, but he delayed declaring it, from an apprehension that the priests would be still more maltreated on a suspicion of having intreated him to interpose his authority in their behalf. The measure

*rigorous measure employed by despotism would be a crime, but is an act of justice when dictated by necessity, and exercised by the real sovereign, the people. It will cause blood to flow: I know it: but much more will flow if you do not adopt it. You will be the first victims: you will find yourselves exposed to every attack. The law is my God; I have no other—I want no other."*

itself

## CH. IV.

9th Dec.  
1791.

itself was not so popular as had been expected, and the directory of the department of Paris petitioned the king to reject it; but this proceeding only excited tumult in the capital, and produced great numbers of counter-petitions from the sections to the assembly. The king, however, did, at length, announce his *veto*; and M. de Lessart was permitted to declare it, without a murmur or symptom of disapprobation. Perhaps this quietude of the factious arose from fear of exciting discussion while the popular mind was somewhat divided on the subject: perhaps they were content with having drawn from the king two acts, by recurring to which they could at any time place him in personal opposition to the legislature\*.

In prosecution of their favourite measure of forcing their country into a war, the jacobins of the assembly found themselves considerably assisted by the decrees and transactions of their predecessors. The attempts of the popular party to procure a complete junction of Avignon and Le Comtat with France, were gratified with complete success, by a decree of the constituent assembly, made the 14th of September, amid the shouts of the left side, some of whom ran out among the populace, exclaiming, "Avignon is our own!"

The measures adopted to obtain a party in Avignon favourable to this decree, had long extinguished all

\* Debates; Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. pp. 34, 76, 95, 111, 123, 164, 189; Histoire du Clergé pendant la Révolution Française, par l'Abbé Barruël, p. 180.



the powers of government, armed the people against each other, and produced the horrors of civil war. CH. IV.  
1791.

The troops of the popular faction (for the contest was not conducted by the regular army) were headed by the infamous Jourdan, *le coupe-tête*. His party having by repeated insults, robberies, and oppressions, exasperated the people so much that they put to death Lescuyer, the secretary of the municipality, Jourdan immediately let loose the blood-hounds of vengeance; they fired on the citizens, and 16th Oct. having taken a great number of prisoners, confined them in the palace, which was formerly the residence of the pope. In the night they drew them forth, one by one, and slew about sixty with iron bars. Among them was M. Nolhac, a man of fourscore, formerly rector of a college of jesuits at Toulouse; and, during the last thirty years, pastor of St. Symphorien: he was dear to the whole city; and in this dreadful scene afforded to the victims, in their last moments, the consolations of religion. But neither his age nor his occupation preserved him from the fury of the assassins; he was, like the rest, knocked down with iron bars, hewn in pieces, and his remains with theirs thrown into a well opened for the purpose, in the place which was called *les glacières*, and covered over with cart-loads of gravel.

These sacrifices were not however sufficient to gratify the brutal rage of Jourdan's banditti; the whole town was a scene of indiscriminate carnage and unbridled ferocity: to the horrors so often related as appertaining

**CH. IV.** appertaining to similar transactions, as murdering

1791. parents with their families, infants at the breast, and women advanced in pregnancy, accounts written even by fierce jacobins add the horrible circumstance of cannibal feasts, in which the murderers banqueted on the trembling limbs, palpitating hearts, and reeking entrails of the dead\*. The total number of victims is computed at six hundred and twenty one. The com-

Nov. complaints on this subject were at first received with due horror in the assembly; and Jourdan, with some of his principal accomplices, were imprisoned: but counter-representations were speedily procured, which, though demonstrated to be false in every particular, served as a basis for a motion of amnesty. In support of this measure the most profligate members of the assembly joined their forces; their task was facilitated by the preparations made by Brissot and others at the clubs; and, to the astonishment March, and horror of all the world, Jourdan was not 1792. only pardoned, but reinstated in power, and sent back to exercise new cruelties on men whom, even in his dungeon, he had never ceased to threaten, and whom he now hated with redoubled rancour†.

While

\* This fact is particularly recorded by Prud'homme, *Histoire des Erreurs*, &c. vol. IV. p. 21. And for the general narrative see the same vol. p. 4, et seq. and p. 208; *Histoire du Clergé*, par Barruël, p. 149; *Conjuration d'Orleans*, vol. III. p. 162.

† As it will not be necessary in the regular course of history to take further notice of this abandoned assassin, his fate is here briefly related.

While the French, in contempt of their own decree against territorial aggrandisement, were thus invading the rights of the pope, and giving alarm to all Europe by their sanguinary barbarities, Great Britain not only observed a rigid neutrality, but even liberally lent them assistance. The constituent assembly had decreed the abolition of slavery, a measure chiefly obtained by the intrigues and exertions of a club called *Les amis des noirs*. To some of these men, large sums of money are said to have been distributed by Mulatto agents in Paris \*: if the charge is true, they served their employers with fidelity; for, undeterred by repeated insurrections, conflagrations, and massacres, they proceeded in enfranchising the slaves, and finally

related. On regaining power at Avignon he gratified his vengeance by daily murders; he was afterwards sent to Marseilles, and during the insurrection of that city in 1793 had nearly fallen a sacrifice to the royalist party, but was rescued from prison when the town yielded to Carteaux, and made commander of a squadron of *gendarmérie*. In 1794 he was denounced in the Jacobin club, not for any crime he had committed, or boasted of, such as tearing out the hearts of Berthier and Foulon, murdering Deshottes and Vari-cour, and smearing his beard, clothes, and flesh with their blood, nor even for the more recent and dreadful transactions at Avignon; but he was accused of being a fédéralist, of having *dilapidated, and usurped at a low price* the national property, abused his military authority, and despised the judicial and administrative powers, and even the national representation. Tallien, a man perfectly congenial in principle, undertook his defence in vain; he was delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, and from them to the executioner.

\* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 277.



CH. IV. brought the colonists to a state of misery, from which  
 1791-2. they were relieved by lord Effingham, governor of  
 Jamaica, who dispatched two frigates loaded with  
 provisions, arms, and ammunition, to Cape François,  
 and a third to Port-au-prince, with deputations of in-  
 dividuals of the first consequence in Jamaica. The  
 5th Nov. intelligence of this assistance was announced  
 1791. to the national assembly by a note from the  
 British ambassador, and after a quibbling debate,  
 thanks were voted neither to lord Effingham, nor to  
 the *British government*, but to the *British nation* in  
 general, and lord Effingham in particular as one of the  
 nation. This manner of higgling for acknowledg-  
 ment is at least ungrateful \*, but the terms selected  
 shewed an unprincipled disposition to return evil for  
 good, by separating the nation to which they were in-  
 debted from its government.

In fact, the demagogues seem to have been of-  
 fended at the event. They insisted at first that the in-  
 telligence was untrue, and censured the measures  
 adopted by the minister of the marine for quelling the  
 insurrection, as part of a design to establish for the  
 king a transmarine dominion where there should be  
 titles and distinctions, and masters and slaves. Brissot  
 imputed to England a criminal collusion with the  
 French ministry, justifying at the same time the insur-

\* "Indeed, gentlemen," said one member during the debate,  
 "you are longer in determining the mode in which you shall return  
 thanks, than your benefactors were in doing you the service."

furgents,

gents, and even attributing their crimes to a laudable spirit of vengeance. Troops were, however, sent out, but the distractions of the colony preventing the arrival of any considerable quantity of produce, the most extravagant patriots professed at the bar of the assembly their resolution to discontinue the use of coffee and sugar, and many more were obliged to follow their example. The rebellion occasioned by the emancipation of slaves still raged in Saint Domingo, but the assembly decreed that coloured people should enjoy every right and privilege in common with the whites \*.

These efforts were, however, subordinate to the grand project of creating a war with the emperor. When the declaration at Pilnitz was first issued, the jacobins treated with derision those royalists who placed reliance on its apparent promises, and proved that the terms on which assistance could be expected were contingent, and could never be accomplished after the king had accepted the constitution. The emperor himself, in acknowledging the communication of this event, expressed the same opinion, by wishing that the part Louis had thought proper to adopt might answer his views for the public felicity, and that the alarming apprehensions for the

\* See debates; Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 225; Bryan Edwards's History of St. Domingo; Herbert Marsh's History of Politics, &c. chap. ii.; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. pages 60, 144, 190, 299, and vol. VI. p. 32.

CH. IV. common cause of kings and princes, might cease for  
 1791. the future, and prevent the necessity of taking serious  
 precautions against their renewal\*.

An article in the decree against emigrants enjoined the diplomatic committee to propose measures to be adopted by the king, in the name of the nation, respecting contiguous foreign powers who suffered the French fugitives to assemble on their territories: to direct the popular attention with more anxiety towards this object, the clubs and the assembly were filled with

24th denunciations of intercepted correspondence,  
 Nov. a committee of inspection was established, and deputations of the lowest class were taught to demand vengeance.

27th. In the discussion of measures for prevention of raising recruits for the emigrants, contempt seemed the predominating sentiment, though a resolution to impede the prosecution of such transactions, and a disposition to insult all the governments of Europe, characterised the principal speakers. "The emigrants," said Ruhl, a deputy from Alsace, "are assembling and enlisting under the command of M. Condé, the *çi-devant* prince. My lord the archbishop of Mentz is raising an army of *four thousand men*, which the people are foolish enough to furnish; my lord the elector of Treves provides *two thousand men*; and my lord René Édouard cardinal prince de Rohan, besides the brigands of whom he has the honour to be com-

\* See Debrett's State Papers, vol. I. p. 145.



mander-in-chief, furnishes *fifty men*, allowed him by the laws of the German empire. It were unworthy the majesty of a great nation to suffer the continuance of this operatical farce, which tires our patience: a private person may despise these skipping bullies, but a great nation should punish rash fools, who shew a disposition to strike at their laws. Do not trust to the slumber of despots—Let the executive power cause it to be signified to the electors of Mentz and Treves, that unless in the course of a fortnight they put an end to the enlisting in their states, France will make them repent it.” On resuming the debate, Isnard uttered a series of invectives against all <sup>29th.</sup> crowned heads, threatening to make them tremble on their thrones of clay. These declamations produced the desired effect; a committee of twenty-four members waited on the king, demanding from him forcible declarations addressed to the princes whose conduct was complained of, which might cause an immediate dispersion of the *hordes* of emigrants. He was required to fix a short period beyond which no dilatory answer should be received, and to support his declaration by marching his troops.

While this message was under consideration, every manœuvre was essayed to render the project of hostilities popular; among others, the mischievous madman Anacharsis Clootz attended the assembly, and in an harangue to those whom he affectedly considered the ambassadors, as he styled himself the orator,

CH. IV.  
1791.

orator, of the human race, recommended the march of armies without delay towards Bruffels, Liege, and Coblentz; thus in a month would the tri-coloured cockade, and the song *ça ira*, become the delight of more than twenty liberated nations. He declaimed with bitterness against the Dutch and English governments; and though no motion or decree was founded on his address, the applauses with which it was received, the honours of the sitting conferred on the speaker, the courteous answer of the president, and the vote for printing the oration and reply, shewed the disposition of the legislature.

14th Decem. The next day the king appeared in the assembly, and in a temperate and manly speech announced his opinions and conduct on the late message. He expatiated on the circumspection required by the situation of the country, the efforts he had used to recal the emigrants, and his endeavours to persuade neighbouring princes to desist from encouraging their presence and military exertions. The emperor had acted in a manner becoming a faithful ally; but other powers had returned indiscreet answers. He had, therefore, apprised the elector of Treves, that unless he put an end to all assembling and hostile preparations on the part of the emigrants within a month, he would be considered an enemy to France; and the king added that he would direct similar notices to the other potentates, and claim the emperor's interference, as head of the Germanic body. If these de-  
clarations

clarations failed, it would remain for him to propose war ;—war which a nation, who had solemnly renounced conquests, would not enter into without necessity ; but which a generous and free nation would undertake at the call of honour.

CH. IV.  
1791.

This speech was received with enthusiastic applause ; and equal acclamation was bestowed on a message delivered by M. de Narbonne, announcing his orders to assemble a hundred and fifty thousand men, to be divided into three armies under the command of Rochambeau, Lukner, and La Fayette ; and his own preparation to visit the frontier, and inspect the condition of the army. The legislature returned an address to the king complimenting him on his resolutions, and promising him more glory than had ever been acquired by his ancestors. Delightful enjoyments, they said, were prepared for him ; from the Rhine to the Pyrenées, from the Alps to the ocean, all would be under the eye of a good king, covered with ramparts of free and faithful men\*.

It would be difficult to conceive that such formidable preparations were made, and so much enthusiasm excited, to repel or awe those adversaries who had been lately mentioned with such superlative con-

\* Those who consider this promise with due attention to its geographical limits, must perceive that the bounds given to the king's rule include the Netherlands, and all the dominions which France affects to consider as her natural boundaries, and which the legislature was thus usurping by anticipation, at the very moment of renouncing aggrandisement by conquest.

tempt ;



Ch. IV. 1791. tempt; and it was remarked that at the moment when these legislators were expressing so much jealousy about supporting the emigrants of their nation, and the encouragement afforded to individuals disaffected to their government, they gave ready support to refugees and disaffected persons from every other country. Emigrants from the Netherlands were permitted to raise recruits, and mature hostile projects against the emperor, on the French frontier, nor could he by any complaints obtain satisfaction. Refugees from Brabant and Liege were suffered publicly to form a general committee in Paris, and pass resolutions against their respective governments. A deputation of Dutchmen attended at the bar of the assembly, and their address against the despotism of the stadtholder, and proposition of measures for overturning his government, were graciously received, answered with assurances that they should be considered as allies, and entered in the *procès verbal*, with honourable mention. An obscure party of Englishmen, meeting at a public-house in Frith-street, and calling themselves a constitutional society of whigs, presented a foolish address to the king and assembly, promising to risk their *lives and fortunes* in defence of France against any despotic powers which might attempt to enchain the nation; and the assembly received this proposal to wage war without the consent of government, with loud applause and honourable mention, and communicated it to the king by a deputation. A written answer was

was returned by the president declaring the treaty CII. IV. inviolate, negotiated by virtue, simple as truth, essential as reason, and complimenting these obscure addressers as *the soundest part of the nation*\*.

The elector of Treves honoured the intimation of the king of France with immediate compliance, and the emigrants were also obliged to quit Worms. These efforts, which rendered their situation less respectable, and abridged their comforts, were in part occasioned by their own imprudence, or that of their friends who had for some time filled the foreign gazettes with pompous reports of their preparations and the encouragement they received : these the popular faction in France knew to be unfounded, and mentioned them with contempt, but yet they used them as means to inflame the public and influence the assembly.

The only solid hope of the French princes was founded on the activity, enterprise, and fidelity of the king of Sweden, who was animated with the sincerest desire to invade France for the purpose of meliorating the condition of Louis ; but not possessing in himself sufficient means, was obliged to await the motions of Austria and Prussia, and submit to delusive promises from Russia and Spain†. The open conduct of Gustavus, and the less explicit behaviour of Catherine and

\* See the address in Debrett's State Papers ; in Rivington's Annual Register, 1791 ; Bertrand's Annals, vol. IX. p. 49.

† See Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 427, et seq.

CH. IV. Charles, afforded the war party in France new themes  
 1791. for declamation, and enabled them to give the desired impulse to the assembly.

19th This impulse derived additional force from  
 Decem. a letter written by the emperor of Germany remonstrating against the right which Louis seemed to claim of invading the feignorial prerogatives in Alsace and Lorraine, provided a compensation was made; declaring his resolution to support the claims advanced by the princes of the empire; and intimating his intention to prevent seditious meetings, and suppress inflammatory publications in his dominions.

This letter with the documents annexed being re-  
 29th ferred to the diplomatic committee, Brissot  
 Decem. made a violent harangue, in which he developed the principles and in part the views upon which France was to undertake war against all the world. He began by examining the probability of any great power espousing the cause of the emigrants or declaring war against France: England undoubtedly would not; Germany and Prussia in every prudent view of the subject could not; the king of Sweden was not to be feared, and his alliance with the empress of Russia would, if carried into effect, be destructive to himself alone. Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, he observed, were only anxious to prevent the influence of the French revolution by affording indulgences to the lower class of their subjects; and Poland was attached by evident ties to France. The  
 powers



powers and efforts of Spain were considered with contemptuous ridicule ; that king possessed a fleet without mariners, ships without sails, mines but no money, colonies but no manufactures, and banks destitute of credit ; and the state of Holland was exactly similar. But though it clearly appeared, both from facts and reasonings, that no great power could attack France, yet the assembly ought not to defer making preparations for war.

CH. IV.

1791.

“ War,” he said, “ is necessary, France ought to undertake it for her honour ; she is in fact for ever dishonoured if a few thousand rebels can be the means of leading her to capitulate on the subject of her laws : war is at this period a national benefit ; and the only calamity to be feared is, that we shall not have a war which will enable us to terminate the evils resulting from the audacity of the emigrants.” Having assumed this principle, he described the manner in which France ought to proceed in order to create a rupture with different powers : their manner of receiving the notification of the king’s accepting the constitution was to be made the ground of complaint, and all acts by which the exertions or hopes of the emigrants were encouraged were to be treated as hostile. The king of Spain was to be required to revoke some edicts by which the French were oppressed, and conform to the tenor of treaties, and particularly the family-compact ; the emperor was also to be called on to diminish the number of his forces in Brabant, according

CH. IV. cording to the terms of treaties ; but in answer to his  
 1791. complaints of the infraction of treaties in the case of  
 Alsace and Lorraine, he was to be told *that the sovereignty of the people was not bound by the treaties of tyrants*, and that in speaking always in his letter of *the king*, and *his majesty*, and never of the nation, he rendered himself more than suspected of encouraging the hopes of the emigrants.

These sentiments were received with vehement applause by the left side of the assembly and the galleries, and similar acclamations attended opinions and arguments of the same kind uttered by Herault de Sechelles, Condorcet, and other adherents of the same party. Condorcet presented a manifesto, which was eagerly adopted and ordered to be transmitted to all the courts in Europe. This state-paper, issued by a legislative body without the concurrence of the sovereign, was a compound of impudent assertion and hypocritical duplicity. Its general aim was to distinguish between governments and the people governed ; denouncing war against the former with an ostentatious display of kindness towards the latter. Compensation should be made for the unintentional calamities caused by the troops of France, and the asylum opened to foreigners should not be shut against the inhabitants of those countries whose princes forced her to attack them. The reception of these speeches and this manifesto was highly flattering to the demagogues of the assembly, who saw that a war would augment their means of obtaining

obtaining power, and who already talked of taking measures which in peace might seem too severe, and of throwing a veil over the statue of liberty\*.

CH. IV.  
1791.

Thus every occurrence promised success to the great objects undertaken by the popular leaders, and in the smaller efforts they were not less fortunate. Bailly, after the dissolution of the constituent assembly, resigned the mayoralty; and La Fayette, relinquishing the command of the national guard, presented himself a candidate for the chief magistracy of Paris. Petion, favoured by all parties, and particularly attached to the duke of Orleans, was, however, his successful opponent, gaining the election by a majority of more than two to one †. Manuel, a pedantic man of letters, who had been extremely active in the revolution, was associated with him as *procureur-général* of the commune.

A feeble effort made by the constitutionalists, and encouraged by La Fayette, to establish a club in opposition to the incroaching party, at the convent of the *feuillans*, was attended with no beneficial effect: the jacobins, in contempt of all law, and in defiance of every injunction, attacked them by force, drove them from their place of sitting, compelled

\* See debates: and for the manifesto see Debrett's State Papers, vol. I. p. 16; Rivington's Annual Register, 1792, p. ii. p. 207, and Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. p. 210; also, see the same vol. p. 202, et seq. for the general events.

† 6728 to 3126: see Conjuraton d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 152.

them



CH. VI. them to meet in a more private manner, and impressed  
 1791. the people with horror of the very name as indicative of counter-revolution and treason against the nation\*.

Nothing was wanting to the complete ascendancy of this enterprising party but the advantage of popular opinion; a point which neither their manners, talents, nor proceedings, were calculated to secure. Their measures could be carried by acclamation, and the purchased plaudits of the galleries in the assembly and at the clubs could be secured; yet a high public consideration did not await their persons or their conduct. Those who during the existence of the constituent assembly were fascinated by the bold proposals and eloquent speeches of the principal demagogues, could not easily endure that Mirabeau, Barnave, and the Lameths, should find imitators in Cordorcet, Brissot, Genfonné, Guadet Vergniaud, and Isnard; and the vulgarity and ignorance of many of the other deputies were sufficient to expose the whole body to contempt. The cause in which they were embarked, of depressing the crown to elevate themselves, was not yet so popular that its probable success could be regarded as a compensation for the utter neglect of all public business; no beneficial regulation in police, finance, or commerce, had distinguished the proceedings of the assembly, and yet its demagogues contemplated with pleasure the probability of degrading their sovereign and plunging their country into a war.

\* See histories; Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. p. 199.

## CHAP. V.

*Examination of the real Views of the supposed Republican Party—Character of Brissot—Roland—Madame Roland—General Characteristics—Character of Condorcet—Petion—Danton—Chabot—Merlin—Bazire and others—Robespierre—Formation of a separate Party—Attempt of the Duke of Orleans to be reconciled with the King—Its failure—Difference of Opinion between Robespierre and Brissot respecting War—Views of Brissot in urging Hostilities—Dispatch from Prince Kaunitz to the French Ambassador at Vienna—Decree against all who should attempt to alter the Constitution—Address to the King to urge Hostilities—His Answer—Progress of Negotiation—Death of the Emperor Leopold—Resignations of Ministers—The Jacobin Administration formed—Dumouriez Minister for Foreign Affairs—His Character—De Graves Minister at War—The remaining Members of the Cabinet selected by them and other Jacobins—Lacoste Minister of Marine—And Duranton Minister of Justice—Their Characters—Claviere Minister of Finance—His Character—Roland Minister of the Interior—Dumouriez and Degraives pay homage to the Jacobins—Murder of the King of Sweden—War declared against the Emperor—General*

—General Want of Subordination in France—Tumultuous Scenes in the Assembly—Unlimited Power of Mobs and Clubs—Covert Attacks on the Constitution—Apparent Cordiality between the King and his Ministers—Malignant Insinuations of Madame Roland—Schism in the Cabinet—Plan of the Campaign—Theobald Dillon marches to attack Tournay—His Troops fly at the Approach of the Austrians—And barbarously murder him and Colonel Berthois—Event of the Expedition under Biron—La Fayette advances to Givet—But remains inactive—Effect of these Events in Paris—Rochambeau resigns his Command—Is succeeded by Luckner—Degraives retires from the Office of Minister at War—Is succeeded by Servan—His Character—Dumouriez projects a new Plan of Operations—The Austrians take Baway—La Fayette applies for a Reinforcement, which is refused—Various Attacks—Gouvion killed—Unsuccessful Operations of Carle—Failure of the Second Project of Campaign.

## CH. V.

1791. **ROLAND'S** habitation still continued to be the chief resort of that faction which, in the days of the first legislature, was supposed republican, and some members of which still occasionally gave indications of a wish to establish that form of government, though no party was found hardy enough to avow the principle. Although declamations and writings in which the person and rule of the king of France and every other monarch were vilified by wanton abuse, or rendered



tended odious by unsparing calumny, were profusely uttered and sanctioned by Brissot and his faction; and although their hostility to the person of Louis XVI. and to all that remained either in or out of France of nobility or clergy, is undoubted; yet their sincere desire to establish a republic is very questionable. Most of them were poor and venal, ready to be bought, but unused to be bid for, raising systems for the sake of gaining importance, and disposed to sell themselves and their projects to the first who would offer an adequate gratification. Many of them had commenced their political career as salaried adherents of the duke of Orleans; some quitted his party because his patronage was previously occupied by others, and their services neglected; and some formed a new connection that, by acquiring power conjunctively, they might either use or dispose of it to greater advantage.

Brissot, the head of the party, had been from his youth tossed on the sea of speculation, frequently reduced to want, sometimes to meanness, and, if reports may be credited, even to crime. The necessity of writing for bread had given facility to his pen; but his style wanted vigour, his reasoning method, and his statements correctness. Ever disposed to give vent to sentiments required by the occasion, he was frequently under the necessity of contradicting himself; and few of his opinions can bear the test of declarations which he had made at some previous period. The love of

VOL. I. L innovation,

CH. V. innovation, more than a fixed principle, seems to have  
 1791. swayed him in politics: at one time he was an admirer of the British, at another of the American constitution; sometimes desirous to raise his patron, the duke of Orleans, to the throne; and then wishing to depose the king, establish a regency during the minority of the dauphin, and govern both by means of influence in the legislature, and a party of unalienable friends. For all or any of these projects he was willing to receive a compromise, having, in fact, no principle, nor any patriotism, but he was obliged to affect both as the means of raising and attaching to himself a party. He gained many adherents by an appearance of candour and mildness, but in his real character he was false, gloomy, vindictive, and unrelenting\*.

Roland was in himself an inoffensive old man, endowed with little talent, and not much malice, cholerick not rancorous, plain in manners and habits, brief in speech, fond of reproving vice, and fancying himself a model of virtue. His early pursuits had rendered him diligent, and having superintended some public accounts at Lyons, he was flattered into a belief that his abilities were equal to the conduct of a state, and his virtues sufficient to reform a whole people. To this delusion his wife greatly contri-

\* See an account of Brissot, his character and principles—Biographical Memoirs, article Brissot.—Dictionnaire des Hommes marquans, article Brissot; and Erreurs, &c. de la Révolution, vol. III. p. 39.

butéd ; she has already been mentioned as a woman of considerable talent ; she wrote with fluency and eloquence, thought with boldness and originality, and made her opinions still more striking by the force of her expressions, and the vigour of her illustrations. In the whole course of the revolution parties had been formed and cemented by women : madame Necker, madame de Stael her daughter, madame Sillery, better known by her title of countess de Genlis, madame de la Fayette, with a vast train of subordinate females, had been oracles and centres of revolutionary juntos ; and madame Roland aspired also to the same character. She was considerably younger than her husband\* ; her person not devoid of attractions, though far from beautiful ; and her wit, sense, spirit, and behaviour, infinitely above most of the females connected with her party ; such as the wife of Condorcet, the mistress of Louvet, and the mother of Petion, who were glad to acquire importance by joining her coterie. She seems to have possessed a more decidedly republican spirit than any of Roland's associates, and distinguished herself by a never-ceasing suspicion and malignity towards the royal family. This might originate from the neglect or contempt she had sustained in her early years, being the daughter of a Parisian bourgeois ; or from her despairing of ever attracting attention or securing the homage which she considered her due,

CH. V.  
1791.

\* In 1792 she was 36 years old ; Roland was 60.



Ch. V. within the purlieus of the court. Roland had not  
 1791. solicited a seat in the assembly, because he was not an  
 able speaker ; and Brissot always relied on him as a fit  
 person to fill a ministerial situation, if their party could  
 gain the desired ascendancy.

The chief supporters of this junto in the assembly  
 were marked by common characteristics ; a bold style  
 of eloquence unfettered by the regulations of de-  
 cency, the restraints of truth, or the rules of logic.  
 All spoke with confidence, all aimed at popularity,  
 and all at some moments enjoyed it ; but as they ac-  
 quired their popularity by momentary exertions not  
 founded on science or principle, so they forfeited it  
 as suddenly when their own arts and arguments were  
 used against themselves. Such is the general character  
 which includes Vergniaud, Isnard, Guadet, Gen-  
 sonné, and a herd of others, whose labours were highly  
 extolled by their party, but afterwards only rescued  
 from oblivion to commemorate occasional traits of  
 atrocity.

Condorcet is distinguished from this herd, and  
 might perhaps have been considered the head of a  
 party, had his talents as an orator been equal to those  
 he displayed as a writer ; or had his courage been  
 equal to his malignity. He was a true persecutor of  
 the church, and zealously attached to the atheistical  
 party, having been the friend and pupil of the old,  
 and principal instructor of the younger members. In  
 other respects he was not equally consistent, having  
 been

been in his earlier days an assiduous courtier, though now among the foremost who endeavoured by their insolence to disgust and degrade the king. Ingratitude prevailed in his character more than any other feature, except cowardice. He is exquisitely described by his warm friend, madame Roland \*. “The genius of Condorcet,” she says, “is equal to the comprehension of the greatest truths; but he has no other characteristic besides fear. It may be said of his understanding, combined with his person, that he is a fine essence absorbed in cotton. No one will say of him, that in a feeble body he displays great courage; his heart and constitution are equally weak. The timidity which forms the basis of his character, and which he displays even in company, on his countenance, and in his attitudes; does not result from his frame alone, but seems to be inherent in his soul; and his talents furnish him with no means of subduing it. Thus, after having deduced a principle, or demonstrated a fact in the assembly, he would give a vote decidedly opposite, overawed by the thunder of the tribunes, armed with insults, and prodigal of threats. The properest place for him was the secretaryship of the academy. Such men should be employed to write, but never permitted to act: it is a happiness to be able to draw some utility from them; even that is not to be done with all timid persons; in general they are good for nothing.”

\* Appel à l'impartiale Postérité, vol. II. p. 30.

CH. V.

1791.

Petion, now mayor of Paris, was also a constant attendant at Roland's: he was a compound of presumption, folly, and wickedness; a tool to every party with which he was connected, yet in himself positive, headstrong, and malignant. In the constituent assembly he was ranked among the lowest order of those who endeavoured to force themselves into notice by extravagance: his connection with the duke of Orleans was well known; and as he was considered in no other light than one of his hired agents, no further attention was paid to his efforts than the views of his patron could command. The court was so thoroughly convinced of his folly, and had so little notion of his wickedness, that their friends did not oppose his election to the mayoralty, judging him a less noxious character than his competitor La Fayette \*. When invested with that office, however, he soon displayed more of his real character; and in time gave the royal family abundant reason to repent their error.

Danton was also at this period a member of the faction at Roland's house. He began to make a conspicuous figure among the clubs, and to form the centre of a low and profligate party, devoid of morals, and eager for mischief. His talent consisted in readiness of speech, and boldness of thought and diction. Ever intent on measures adapted to the present exigency, he thought neither of the past nor the future; hence

\* See Bertrand's Annals, vol. V. p. 109.



his arguments, delivered in a stentorian voice, and with a stern brow, were always easily comprehended by his audience; and as he was never scrupulous in his choice of means, his systems were generally popular, especially among the lower class, to whom he most frequently addressed himself. Poor and fond of debauchery, he was open to every bribe; and has more than once addressed the clubs in the style of a republican, in order to gain a motion which the ministry had hired him to make\*: but his mind was capable of great exertions, his thoughts were bold and original, and he was always distinguished from the herd by the proposal of measures and use of arguments from which the timid would have shrunk appalled, and of which men devoid of a great genius would never have thought.

CH. V.  
1791.

As subordinate characters, and to be used only on particular occasions to forward the views of this party, a rabble of low orators in the assembly, bawlers in the clubs and meetings of the sections, paragraph makers, and people without profession, were sometimes admitted, though not gratified with an intimacy, or even received with cordiality. Among these were Chabot, a dirty, debauched, renegade monk; Merlin, a lawyer of Thionville; and Bazire, who before the revolution was a cook, and whose character is summed up in four words, stupidity, wickedness,

\* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 162.

CH. V. edness, treachery, and lying \*. - These three, by their  
 1791. constant association and mutual support, gained the  
 appellation of the Cordelier Triumvirate †. To these  
 were added Cloutz the Prussian, Camille Desmoulins,  
 Fabre d'Eglantine; Louvet, a writer of immoral ro-  
 mances, and his mistress, the wife of another man;  
 Chamfort, a man of letters, and friend of Mirabeau;  
 Carra, Robert, and a whole tribe of news-writers;  
 and Dorat Coubieres, a miserable poet ‡.

Robespierre, since the termination of his senatorial  
 character, had accepted the office of public accuser,  
 which he filled without reproach, and almost without  
 notice. He was still connected, though not inti-  
 mately, with this faction; he had sufficient discern-  
 ment to perceive that they could never achieve the  
 mighty projects they affected to have formed, and  
 yet retain popularity; he saw through their thread-  
 bare disguise of virtue and disinterestedness, and was  
 forming a strong separate party in the commune, and

\* See Dictionnaire des Hommes marquans, art. Bazire.

† Their absurd and profligate conduct gave rise to the following  
 lines, which were often quoted, even by their own party:

Connoissez vous rien de plus sot,  
 Que Merlin, Bazire, et Chabot ?  
 A-t-on vu rien de plus coquin,  
 Que Chabot, Bazire, et Merlin ?  
 Non : il n'existe rien de pire  
 Que Merlin, Chabot, et Bazire.

‡ See Les Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II.

at the jacobin club, backed by the lower order of people in Paris, to supplant these intriguers whenever they had gained the summit of their hopes. He was content to co-operate with them in measures tending to prostrate the throne, but expected to rise on its ruins, and precipitate them from the heights to which their ambition pointed, but to which they were, no more than himself, to be raised by virtue. Danton, and all the cordelier party, joined in these sentiments; they were indignant at the affectation of virtue which distinguished the Brissotines; and their pride was hurt at the haughty reserve with which those pretended lovers of equality treated them, even when they most required their services. “You, Brissot, and, above all, you, Petion,” says Camille Desmoulins, “constantly received us haughtily, fulkily, and coldly; you never could conceal that hatred with which our very presence inspired you. You stretched out a finger to us, but never the hand. You did not even think it necessary to refuse the gratification which haughty minds derive from treating others with insolence and contempt \*.”

These secret sentiments of disgust did not expose the party to so much danger as the compunction of their patron the duke of Orleans. Alarmed at the probable consequences of his conduct, and perceiving that projects were entertained by his pretended adher-

\* History of the Brissotines, p. 18.



CH. V. { ents incompatible with his hopes of advancement, he  
 1791. made an overture to M. Bertrand, who procured him an interview with the king; and a reconciliation was so far effected, that he attended at a levee by the request of his royal relative. Unfortunately the royalists assembled on the same occasion were not apprised of the preceding transactions, and considering his presence as an impertinent, if not malignant, intrusion, treated him with so much indignity, that he left the palace inflamed with redoubled rancour, and vowing implacable revenge \*. The separation of the duke of Orleans from the popular faction might have occasioned disclosures, attended with proof, which would have been highly beneficial to the crown; and it might even have occasioned a quarrel between the ill-cemented faction, who wanted not abundant motives of disagreement.

Robespierre differed entirely with Brissot on his favourite measure of precipitating hostilities. He thought the public good ought rather to be considered, and necessary establishments made; contended that war would strengthen and fix the power of La Fayette and the Feuillans, and that the nation would be betrayed. Brissot answered a speech on this subject in the jacobin club, by declaring his only fear to be that the nation would not be betrayed. He afterwards explained his meaning more at large, by

\* Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. I. p. 310.

treating war as the only means by which royalty CH. V.  
1791. could be abolished. “ My opponents were afraid of a war conducted by a king,” he observes: “ short-sighted politicians! it was precisely because that perjured king was to direct the war, because he could only direct it like a traitor; because his treason alone could lead him to his ruin: for these very reasons it was necessary that war should be made under the direction of the king.” And in a note on the same passage, he says, “ *It was the abolition of royalty that I had in view when I caused the declaration of war. Enlightened men understood me on the 30th of December, 1791, when answering Robespierre, who was always talking of treasons to be apprehended, I said my only fear is that we shall not be betrayed: we want treasons; in them our safety consists; for strong doses of poison still exist in the bowels of France, and strong explosions alone can expel them. Great treasons will be fatal only to traitors; to the people they will be useful; they will make that disappear which alone impedes the grandeur of the French nation—Royalty \*.*”

This avowal throws a clear light on the resolutions and motives of the warlike faction; they intended, notwithstanding their hypocritical manifesto, to make war for the sake of aggrandisement, and were afterwards pleased to say that the abolition of royalty was

\* Brissot à tous les Républicains, sur la Société des Jacobins. Brissot's Tracts, London edition, p. 171.

**CH. V.** a necessary medium, because they expected from the  
 1791. character of the king or his ministers some opposition to their convenient doctrines respecting the observance of treaties. The conduct of the emperor was far from affording grounds for war, had not the French been shamelessly resolute in seeking them. He had since the preceding summer made considerable reductions in his army, discouraged the exertions of the king of Sweden, and retracted a refusal to receive the French ambassador, which he had made before the king accepted the constitution, and when he was not believed to be at liberty.

31st Dec. But a dispatch from prince Kaunitz to

1791. the ambassador at Vienna respecting the elector of Treves, which was read in the assembly on the 31st of December, furnished the demagogues with topics of abuse, which the conduct of the emperor could not supply. The imperial minister announced that the elector of Treves had adopted a regulation for putting the emigrants under the same restrictions as in other parts of the Austrian Low-countries, but claimed the assistance of the emperor in preserving the tranquillity of his states, which were menaced with hostile incursions. The emperor was convinced of the good intentions of the most christian king, and also that it was not the interest of France to provoke hostilities; but as daily experience gave proof of the want of stability and preponderance of moderate measures, and of a regular subordination of powers,



powers, especially in the provinces and municipalities, the emperor felt himself obliged by friendship for the elector of Treves, and by his own interest, to enjoin marshal Bender to march to the states of his electoral highness speedy and efficacious succours in case he should be attacked, or even imminently threatened with invasion. The emperor was too sincerely concerned for the well-being of France, and general repose of Europe, not to deprecate this extremity, *and the infallible consequences it would produce as well on the part of the chief and states of the German empire, as of other sovereigns who had united in concert for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and the safety and honour of crowns.* CH. V.  
1791.

This state paper was transmitted to the assembly accompanied with a message from the king, declaring his astonishment at the language used by the Austrian minister, though he could not yet think the disposition of the emperor hostile: he might have been deceived by the elector of Treves respecting the state of facts, and the king had written to him renewing the requisition for dispersing the emigrant forces in Treves, and declaring that unless that were done by the time fixed, nothing should prevent him from proposing to the national assembly to compel it by force of arms \*. The king's letter was heard with unbounded applause, and the papers referred to the diplomatic committee.

\* See these documents in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, Part II. p. \* 259.

While

CH. V.  
1792.

6th Jan. 1792. While the report was preparing, the assembly was authentically informed of the dispersion of the emigrants from the electorate of Treves, which was as complete as the most jealous solicitude could desire. 14th. Genfonné, however, as reporter of the committee, uttered a vehement philippic against Leopold, which was received with great applause, and ordered to be printed. Guadet followed him, and seizing an idea which he had thrown out of a congress being assembled to alter the French constitution, moved that every agent of the executive power, every Frenchman who should directly or indirectly take part in any congress, the object of which should be any modification of the constitution, or in any mediation between the nation and the rebels, or in any composition with the princes who had possessions in Alsace, should be regarded as infamous traitors to the country, and guilty of treason. This proposition was decreed amid tumultuous acclamations, and cries of THE CONSTITUTION OR DEATH! Oaths were taken to maintain it, and the royal sanction was accompanied with an assurance of the king's eagerness to perfect the establishment of the constitution.

This decree formed the foundation of further persecutions against the emigrants; but the leading party in the assembly could not be satisfied with the inclination indicated by the king to seek tranquillity by the usual modes of diplomatic expostulation; they heard with impatience the frequent communications made  
by

by M. de Lessart of satisfactory missives from Vienna, CH. V.  
 and at length, on the motion of Condorcet, 25th.  
 voted an address to the king, recapitulating  
 divers instances of the emperor's misconduct; and re-  
 quiring that a demand should be made whether he in-  
 tended to live in peace and good understanding, and  
 renounce all treaties and conventions directed against  
 the sovereignty, independence, and safety of the  
 nation; in default of full and entire satisfaction on  
 these points, silence or an evasive answer would be  
 considered a declaration of war. 1792.

The king, in reply, remonstrated with the 28th.  
 assembly that their address in the form of a  
 decree trenchd on his constitutional prerogative of  
 maintaining political relations, and conducting nego-  
 ciations; the legislative body could not debate on  
 war till the formal and necessary proposal had been  
 made by him. Waving, however, the discussion of  
 this point, he informed them that upwards of a fort-  
 night had elapsed since he demanded of the emperor  
 a positive explanation of the principal articles request-  
 ed by them. Humanity forbid the mixture of en-  
 thusiasm in a deliberation on war, which should only  
 be determined on the most mature consideration.  
 Though this firm and temperate message was deeply  
 resented by many members, they did not dare to  
 commence a discussion, where they must have ac-  
 knowledged their error; and therefore passed to the  
 order of the day.

Nego-



CH. V.

1792.

Negotiations were in the mean time actively conducted by M. de Noailles, the French ambassador at

17th

Feb.

Vienna, who obtained an explanation from prince Kaunitz, which promised to obviate the principal grounds of complaint, though the reflections made by that minister on the conduct of the jacobin party gave great offence to their adherents in the assembly. On the points in dispute, the emperor and king of Prussia maintained a perfect similarity of

28th.

opinion, which was manifested by a letter from the count de Goltz, the Prussian *chargé des affaires* at Paris, declaring that an invasion of the territory of the empire by French troops could only be regarded as a declaration of war against the whole Germanic body, and consequently his Prussian majesty would, in conjunction with the emperor, oppose it with all his forces. While affairs were in this situation, a temporary delay of negotiation was occasioned

1st

by the death of the emperor Leopold, who expired after a short illness; and considerable suspicions were entertained, though perhaps unjustly, that he had been poisoned\*.

The demagogues in the assembly perceiving that the king's pacific dispositions were supported by his ministers, resolved to effect a change in the cabinet.

\* All these transactions are detailed from the debates, and the state papers, which may be found in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792; part II.

M. de Narbonne and M. Cahier de Gerville endeavoured to preserve the friendship of the jacobins gained only their contempt, while M. Bertrand and M. de Lessart were exposed to their utmost rancour as determined royalists, and men who had never descended to court the countenance of the prevailing faction. It would be tedious to recapitulate the intrigues and artifices used by some of the ministers and their patrons to gain a temporary preponderance in the public favour: Bertrand was denounced in the assembly, but acquitted himself with applause: De Lessart was marked out as a sacrifice by the unrelenting Brissot, who pursuing him both in print and in the senate with unceasing denunciations, obtained at length a decree of accusation, and an order for sending him to Orleans to be tried by the criminal court, without even permitting him to be heard at the bar \*: Bertrand resigned after sustaining many insults from those ministers who were most attached to the jacobins: M. de Narbonne, known by the contemptuous nickname of *the linnet*, was dismissed without being regretted by any party: Tarbé, minister of finance, a quiet inoffensive man, who owed his rise to the revolution, without participating in, or admiring its excesses; Cahier de Gerville, minister of the interior, a coarse brutal republican, but more

CH. V.  
1792.

10th.

9th.

\* He was murdered on the 10th of September following.

CH. V. susceptible of anger than prone to malice \*; and  
 1792. Duport du Tertre, keeper of the seals, a zealous revolutionist patronised by La Fayette; all found it  
 17th. impossible to retain their situations after De Lessart's impeachment; and all resigned within a week.

The king now looked on his situation with agony and despair: he saw that it was impossible in his whole dominions to find an individual attached to his person or government on whom he could confer an official situation, without exposing that individual to danger, and himself to reproach. He yielded therefore to the cruel exigencies of the times, and selected his new cabinet from among those who had been most his enemies; and formed what is called the jacobin administration.

Dumouriez, since so celebrated, but then little known, had, besides his military services, been employed by the ministers of Louis XV. as a spy in Poland, and intrusted with several secret missions. He was, at the beginning of the revolution, commandant of Cherbourg, and supposed to be attached to the duke of Orleans; he possessed a considerable knowledge of foreign affairs, and wrote with fluency and facility; but he was vain, rash, self-sufficient, and unprincipled. At the beginning of the year, De Lessart sent for him to Paris, hoping that his influence with

\* After quitting administration, he obtained the place of public accuser, vacated by Robespierre.



Genfonné, and the use of his pen, would rescue him CH. V.  
1792  
from some of the attacks to which he was exposed.

Dumouriez at first entered into his interests, and obtained from him a considerable sum to pay his debts. He was soon afterwards introduced into the privy-cabinet at Roland's; and adopting, at once, the morals of that party, began to attack instead of supporting his benefactor. He was now appointed minister for foreign affairs.

M. Degraives obtained the office of minister at war, and these two, aided by Petion, Rœderer, Brissot, and Condorcet, selected the other members of the cabinet.

Lacoste, who had been *commissaire ordonnateur* of the marine, and afterwards agent for the colonies, was raised to the head of the naval department. Duranthon, an advocate of Bourdeaux, was made minister of justice: he was in his personal character, heavy, indolent, vain, loquacious, and narrow-minded.

Claviere, a banker of Geneva, received the situation of minister of contributions. He was the intimate friend of Brissot, though he had occasionally lent his literary services to most of the distinguished characters in the revolution: he was banished from Geneva for sedition, and is described as a deceitful, malignant character, overflowing with gall, very confused, and above all remarkably vain, a coward, and  
M 2 a knave.

CH. V. a knave \*. The list of ministers was completed by  
 1792. the appointment of Roland to the interior or home department.

The conduct which would be adopted by these new ministers was confidently anticipated from their personal characters and connections; and Dumouriez and Degraives gave an irrevocable pledge of their intentions by repairing, immediately on their nomination, to the jacobin club, where Dumouriez made an harangue from the tribune, with a red woollen cap, a newly adopted emblem of sedition, on his head †.

An incident which occurred at the period of forming the new ministry relieved France from one active adversary, and seemed a presage of future good fortune. The king of Sweden was murdered  
 16th March. at a masked ball in his palace; and his crown descending to a minor, a period was put to all the projects and preparations he had formed for invading France. The assassin, one Ankaarstrom, who had formerly been an ensign in his guards, was discovered, and put to death; but the jacobins of Paris elevated him to the rank of a hero and martyr, and his name was coupled with that of Brutus in their declamations, toasts, and songs ‡.

The new ministry, faithful to their patrons, the ja-

\* Dictionnaire des Hommes marquans, art. Claviere and Duranton; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 17.

† Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 11.

‡ Ibid. vol. VI. p. 39. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 465.

cobins, employed all their efforts in rendering an accommodation or explanation with the successor of Leopold impossible; they treated his dispatches as evasive, and submitting them without discrimination to the assembly, and through them to the press, occasioned such a series of intemperate reflections on his conduct and sentiments, and at the same time pressed on him and his ministers with so much indecent impetuosity for answers, that they found themselves in a month after their nomination enabled to make a declaration of war popular, and to impress their adherents with some opinion of its being necessary \*.

CH. V.  
1792.

The speech made by the king in recommending it to the assembly was received with <sup>20th.</sup> tumultuous acclamation; and in the same evening war was declared against the king of Hungary and Bohemia, without mentioning Prussia, though the dispatch of count Goltz had already made known the determination of Frederick-William to resent an attack on the imperial dominions.

At the period when France was thus eager to rush into war, without a motive, or a sufficient explanation of any ulterior project, the state of the kingdom was such as apparently to require the utmost caution and prudence to prevent the total and incurable dissolution of all social order. Anarchy prevailed in every direction, and no class had sufficient magnanimity to

\* See the state papers in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792; part II. p. 233 to 242.



CH. V. set the example, or sufficient authority to enforce a  
 1792. better rule and system. The members of the assembly disgraced their sittings by tumultuous debates, unmanly reproaches, and even manual defiance. Unused to the regulations of superior life, they knew of no restraining principle but force; and when the president, according to the practice in the constituent assembly, put on his hat, or rang his bell, he was himself called to order by the members, and, "Silence that bell; —Off with your hat, Mr. President," were among the frequent exclamations in the hall. These tumultuous senators were themselves under the control of the galleries; for as they aimed only at popular acclamation, without any expectation of respect, they were obliged to submit without resistance to all the caprices of the mob, who, without ceremony or restraint, overawed, controlled, and interrupted their proceedings. The clubs and the mob knowing themselves to be the sources of popularity and power, and dignified by abject flatterers with the absurd title of the *sovereign people*, knew no bounds to their insolence; and treated with open contempt every effort at restraining them: they were subject only to the mandates of a few factious leaders, who, by the distribution of money and liquor, knew how to mould, impel, and govern them. The payment of taxes was entirely superseded, convoys of grain and specie, destined for the supply of distant parts, were stopped and plundered to satisfy the exigencies of those who had been formerly relieved

lieved by the bounty of the great. The freedom of worship was every-where violated; some constituted authorities shut up the churches, though the king had not sanctioned the decree against the priests, and were extolled for their patriotism, while those who in such emergencies applied in vain to the constitution for protection, found no resource but in flight, and large numbers were daily added to the list of emigrants. The assignats or government securities issued on the credit of the lands of the church, already circulated at a loss of forty per cent; business stagnated both for want of capital and encouragement, and every reasoning man who speculated on the state of France, was convinced that nothing less than madness could impel a declaration of war, amid domestic weakness, discredit, and disorder.

Such were the thoughts of those who did not perceive the deeply-combined plans of the demagogues, now supported and ably seconded by the ministry. To them the constitution was odious, because it retained a king whom they had resolved at least to depose, if not to annihilate his authority; but they were too prudent to let their hatred of the constitution appear in their acts. That absurd farrago, obtained at the expence of much struggling and so many sacrifices, was exhibited to the people as a great acquisition, in rescuing social liberty from the hands of despotism; a party neither strong nor respectable, composed of those who had been in the first assembly, the chief framers  
of

CH. V. of the constitution, were its known defenders, and the  
 1792. legislature found it necessary to swear to its maintenance till common sense was disgusted with their ridiculously repeated adjurations! The king, they knew, had made the constitution his study and the rule of his practice; he had even learnt it by heart, and applied it to the regulation of all his actions, yet the popular faction did not hesitate to raise clamours against every act of the sovereign which was directed by that code; his nomination of ministers, his conduct with respect to the declaration of war, his exercise of the power commonly called the *veto*; all these were made constant topics of public abuse, calumny, and libels. The defences of ministers, though perfectly justified by the constitution, were not more favourably received by the assembly; but it was artfully contrived to praise and swear to defend this ridiculous idol, while every objection to its existence was studiously accumulated, and the people impelled to conduct and resolutions tending to its inevitable destruction. The civil list was also regarded with peculiar malevolence; the nation had learnt maxims of meanness by rote, and exalted avarice into a virtue; and exclamations against the enormous revenue reserved to the crown were always sure of a good reception, especially when mingled with endeavours to prove that liberty was betrayed by individuals bribed out of this detested civil list.

The new ministers appeared at first cordially united,  
 and



and highly gratified with their situations. Elevated CH. V.  
1792. as they were beyond the region of their loftiest hopes, they had abundant reason for self-gratulation ; and as the king obligingly condescended to their humours and manners, and even sanctioned their most unreasonable demands, they could discover no ground for altercation. Roland, an incorrigible pedant, obstinately insisted on not changing his accustomed mode of attire, but attended at court with his hair undressed, in a plain black suit, and without buckles to his shoes. The guard at the palace, not knowing his person, refused him admittance ; but the king, with his accustomed good-nature, disregarded this disrespectful singularity, and suffered him to appear as he pleased, without animadversion. Dumouriez had equal reason to be satisfied : the king and queen treated him with great condescension ; and all his demands of money and patronage met with ready compliance. He required from the assembly a sum of six millions (262,500*l.*) for secret service ; and prevailed on the king to allow Petion thirty thousand livres (1312*l.* 10*s.*) a-month for regulating the police ; a sum which he applied, as the king had foreseen, in disseminating libels against his person and government. The king's conduct was, in fact, so full of condescension and mildness, and his integrity so evident, that even Roland and Claviere, the men most absolutely devoted to his enemies, could not permit

CH. V. permit themselves to entertain injurious thoughts  
1792. of him.

Before the declaration of war, this state of quietude suited the views of the jacobin party ; but when that point was obtained, they became anxious again to embroil the king in disputes which would endanger his authority. For this purpose, Roland's wife, taking her instructions from the faction, or perhaps instigated by her own malignity, began to remonstrate with her husband and Claviere, ridiculing their credulity ; and, without pretending to advance any cogent fact, reasoned on it as an absolute impossibility, that a king born, educated, and habituated to the exercise of despotic power, should ever be reconciled to a constitution formed on purpose to restrain it. " He must be a man infinitely above the vulgar," she maliciously observed, " to be capable of such an effort ; and if he had been such a man, he would never have suffered the events to have taken place which gave birth to that constitution \*."

The effect intended to be produced by these reasonings was augmented and accelerated by the spirit of discord which broke out among the ministers themselves. Madame Roland gave cabinet dinners, to which all the ministers and the newspaper editors in the national assembly were invited. The acts and intentions of government were there fully discussed

\* Ses Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 81, 82.

and disclosed, and the next day as certainly published in the papers of Brissot and Condorcet. Dumouriez remonstrated against this glaring impropriety ; but the uxorious Roland, far from acceding to the justice of his objections, took an early opportunity to make an attack on him, reproaching him in the presence of Brissot and Gensonné, with his unguarded and irregular life, and with the open profligacy of Bonne Carrere, his confidential agent in office, who had rendered himself notorious for intrigue, dissipation, and gaming, and who was accused at that particular moment of having unduly possessed himself of a hundred thousand livres (4,375*l.*), part of which was received for the use of madame de Beauvert, a woman of intrigue, who lived with Dumouriez as his mistress. The minister for foreign affairs bore these remonstrances with impatience, and quitting the party, avowed his resolution never again to submit the affairs of his office to the scrutiny of these newspaper deputies ; and Lacoste, Degraes, and Duranthon, formed a similar resolution \*.

Meanwhile the war against the emperor had actually commenced, for the measure had been so firmly resolved on in France, that plans of the campaign were settled before the emperor could form adequate preparations for resistance. The general outline of the cam-

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 392 ; Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 91.



CH. V. paign was, that Luckner should occupy the defiles of  
 1792. Porentru with the extremity of his right wing, and with his left form a camp of eight thousand men under general Kellerman at Neukirk, for the purpose of holding Luxembourg in check. La Fayette was to assemble at Longwy a body of six thousand men from his right in the neighbourhood of Metz, and send them to take possession of Arlon. With the rest of the central army he was to attack Namur from Givet, and then proceed to Brussels or Liege. At the same time general Biron, with ten thousand men detached from the army of Rochambeau, was to attempt Mons, which the Austrian general Beaulieu defended with a very inferior force; and if successful to push forward to Brussels, endeavouring to reach that place while La Fayette was before Namur. Other detachments were also to march from Lille towards Tournay, and from Dunkirk towards Furnes, for the purpose of co-operation, and to found the people of Flanders. All the officers designated for these services being of inferior rank to La Fayette, he would, when they united in the Netherlands, have been chief in command; and it was intended to augment his army to sixty thousand men, that he might achieve the conquest of the Low-countries, without offence to Rochambeau or Luckner.

28th In pursuance of this plan, three thousand  
 April. men marched from Lille under Theobald  
 Dillon,

Dillon, to attack Tournay ; at a short distance from the town they were opposed by a small body commanded by general count Happoncourt, who commenced a distant cannonade. Hardly had a dozen shot been fired, when the French cavalry broke through the infantry, exclaiming that they were betrayed, and fled to Lisle, while they were followed by the infantry, leaving behind them their artillery and baggage. On their arrival in Lisle, they shewed as much ferocity as they had before displayed cowardice : they first murdered six Tyrolian rangers, whom they had taken prisoners ; then venting furious clamours against their own officers, they seized lieutenant-colonel Berthois of the engineers, and suspending him with his head downwards, amused themselves with shooting him through the body. While they were uttering sanguinary menaces against Rochambeau, and all the nobles in the army, and satiating their brutality on the mangled remains of Berthois, Dillon arrived wounded, and drawn in a cabriolet. He was immediately slain with the bayonets of his own troops, his limbs burnt in a fire kindled for the purpose in the market-place, the soldiers dancing around, yelling like savages ; his heart was torn from his body, and sent to one of his female relatives who had been six-and-thirty hours confined in a damp cellar, though delivered of a child on the very morning of the murder ; and she was told either

29th.

CH V.  
1792.

to

Ch. V. to allay her hunger with that horrible aliment or  
1792. starve\*.

About the same time Biron proceeded against Mons, taking possession of Quievrain, where he left a battalion of national guards to preserve the post. At  
29th.

Mons, general Beaulieu occupied with his small force a position so judicious, that Biron, who in the whole course of his march had not been joined by a single peasant, or received any intelligence, expected to have been attacked. While awaiting events, he received intelligence of Dillon's failure, and prepared to retreat, but the fatigue and disorder of his troops obliged him to postpone it till the morning. In the night, however, two regiments of dragoons mounted, without orders, and began a precipitate flight; the general, endeavouring in vain to arrest their progress, was hurried a league in the impetuous throng.

30th.

Those who remained divided their efforts between a confused attack and disorderly retreat, neither conducted with judgment, and both attended with loss; the Austrians not only repulsed their assault, but made prize of their camp, baggage, and military chest, pursuing the fugitives, who endeavoured to cover their own infamy with clamours of treason

\* This last fact was recorded in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part I. p. 404, on the authority of a relation of general Dillon, who went to Lille for the express purpose of investigating this horrible event.



against their officers into France, and not desisting from the chase, till checked by a superior force advanced against them by Rochambeau. Carle, who was dispatched with a small force towards Furnes to acquaint himself with the disposition of the people, advanced without impediment or encouragement, till intelligence of the failure of the other generals made him return to Dunkirk.

CH. V.  
1792.

At the same period La Fayette made his attempt on Namur. Although his orders compelled him to advance suddenly, and while his troops were suffering under many wants, he executed a march of a hundred and sixty-six miles in five days, and reached Givet at the appointed time. The discomfiture of the northern army depriving him of all hope of co-operation, he contented himself with establishing a frontier post at Givet, where he remained in inactivity, voluntarily relinquishing the object of the campaign, and contented with protecting a band of malecontents from Liege and Brabant, who called themselves "the Belgic Congress," issued libels against their sovereign, but brought neither strength nor credit to the French cause. La Fayette is severely censured for this conduct, and his *prudence* has been exposed to many farcastic comments. He was strong enough, it is said, to have taken Namur, and the defeats before Mons and Tournay ought rather to have excited than deterred him, as the credit of the campaign could then only be retrieved by his success.

The

CH. V.

1792.

The first plan of active hostility was thus totally frustrated, and the ministry considerably alarmed : comparing the similar circumstances, and particularly the exclamations of fugitive soldiers in the corps both of Biron and Dillon, they could not doubt of the existence of treason, but knew not to whom they should impute it \*. The intelligence spread confusion and alarm in Paris, and increased to an inconceivable height the fermentation and irritability of parties. Rochambeau resigned ; and, to the great disappointment of La Fayette, who employed all his interest to be nominated his successor, the command was given to Luckner. Degraes also vacated the office of minister at war, and was succeeded by Servan, a man selected by and devoted to the junto at madame Roland's, and who joined with the affected plainness and integrity of that party, all the pride, selfishness, ambition, and love of intrigue, by which they were distinguished.

Dumouriez, though no longer supported by the journals devoted to his colleagues in office, courageously avowed himself the projector of the plans which had been so unsuccessful ; and although, at first, nearly overwhelmed by the confluence of par-

\* Brissot had not then made his avowal that he was only afraid there would be no treason, and that treason was essential to the success of his politics. For the events in general, see the Life of Dumouriez, vol. II. p. 286, and 299 ; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 134.

ties against him, regained the good opinion of the public, and had even the hardihood to propose a new scheme of offensive operation, founded like the former on the expectation of an insurrection in the Netherlands.

CH. V.

1792.

The Austrians having in this time collected a more effective force for defence of their frontier, La Fayette repaired to Valenciennes to consult with Luckner, and with Rochambeau, who had not yet quitted his position. While they were thus assembled, the post of Bavay, between Valenciennes and Maubeuge, was surprised by three thousand Austrians; all the French infantry stationed there were made prisoners, and a quantity of forage seized. It was in consequence determined that La Fayette should change his head-quarters from Givet to Maubeuge, and apply to government for a reinforcement. For this purpose he dispatched two aides de camp, messieurs La Colombe and Berthier, to Paris: the minister at war, instead of taking their request into consideration, referred them to Roland; and he not only refused their demand, but commenced an angry correspondence with La Fayette, tending to impeach both his courage and patriotism.

During this paper war general Sztaray attacked M. Gouvion, who had assumed a position at Hemptinne in the territory of Liege, and drove him into Philippeville, with the loss of three

23d.



CH. V.  
1792.

June. pieces of cannon. La Fayette, in moving his army towards Maubeuge, took Beaumont, and placed four thousand men at Betigny, Bercilly, Marcieux, and Grifnelle, while Luckner alarmed the Austrians from Valenciennes. But these again 11th. surprised M. Gouvion, who was stationed at Grifnelle, killed him, and drove his troops under the walls of Maubeuge, La Fayette making no effort for their relief.

Mean while Luckner filed off towards Lille, for the purpose of invading Flanders, having previously established a camp of five thousand men at Maulde on the Scheldt, to menace Tournay; and another at Cysoing, where fixing the attention of the Austrians, he awaited the event of the irruption which General Carle was making from Dunkirk, at the head of six thousand men.

18th. Carle speedily passing through Furnes, entered Ypres; and Luckner, at the same time, made himself master of Menin, with an army amounting to about twenty-five thousand men. From Menin he proceeded to Courtray, and Deynse, threatening Oudenard and Ghent, where his approach was invited by slight popular commotions; but in his whole progress no effectual indication of a popular sentiment in favour of France had served to encourage the expectation of an insurrection. Luckner being thus disappointed, was obliged to draw back as far as Harlebeck, and sent to Paris to solicit reinforcements;

ments; the Austrian general, Beaulieu, in the mean time, advancing, by rapid marches, drove him from Harlebeck; and on the 29th of June compelled him to retire into Courtray; which place the French also evacuated, after having in a disgraceful and unmilitary manner burnt the suburbs. They now re-entered their own territory in discomfiture, and with this unsuccessful attempt terminated the second project of an offensive campaign.

Ch. V.  
1792.

## CHAP. VI.

*Calumnies against the Royal Family—Pretended Austrian Committee—Argument of Brissot—Fury of the People—Views of the Factious—Efforts of the King's Friends—Mission of Mallet du Pan, and proposed Manifesto—Confirmed Division in the Ministry—Exertions of the popular Faction—Formation of the Constitutional Guard—Denounced by Bazire—Manœuvres of Roland, Servan, and Claviere—Opposed by Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon—Roland procures a new Decree against nonjuring Priests—And for forming a Camp of twenty thousand Men near Paris—The King refuses his Sanction to both—Madame Roland's insolent Letter—Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed—New Ministry—Examination of the Conduct of Dumouriez—The ejected Ministers write to the Assembly—Decree in their Favour—Visit of Dumouriez to the Assembly—His Reception and magnanimous Behaviour—His treachery towards the King—New Ministry—Plots of the Jacobins—Plans of the Royalists—Letter from La Fayette to the Assembly—Proceedings there—And at the Jacobin Club—Letter from La Fayette to the King—Examination of that General's Conduct—Arrival of the Marseillois in Paris—Preparations for an Insurrection*



*tion—Its Commencement—Armed Petitioners admitted to the Assembly—Their Petition—And Procession—They break into the Palace—Heroic Behaviour of the King—Queen—And Princess Elizabeth—Conduct of the Assembly—And of Petion—The Palace cleared—False Account given by Petion to the Legislature—General Indignation—Proclamation—Despondency of the King—Exertions of the Factious—Indignation of the Army—La Fayette's ineffectual Visit to the Assembly—And Departure in Disgrace—Camp at Soissons voted—Preparations for a Motion by Brissot—Abjuration of Republicanism and Aristocracy by the whole Assembly—The Members agree to forget all Quarrels—The King received with unusual Acclamations—New Topics of Dissension assiduously promoted—Suspension of Petion and Manuel—The King offers to refer their Conduct to the Assembly—Who refuse the Reference—Brissot's Speech to prove that the King had forfeited the Crown—Referred to a Committee—Report—And Resignation of the Ministers—The King confirms the Suspension of Petion and Manuel—Which is removed by the Assembly—The Directory of the Department resign—Arrival of Fédérés with incendiary Petitions—Rumours of Plots—Confederation.*

**W**HILE the war against foreign powers was conducted with such conspicuous disgrace and ill success, that which the Jacobins were waging against the king and constitution was attended with more encouraging results.

CH. VI.  
1792.

CH. VI. results. The enemies of the king and queen had propa-  
 1792. gated such a series of fictions respecting their principles and conduct, that no explanation or evidence of their good intentions could impress on the public a belief of their inclination to regulate their conduct by the constitution. They were known to be deeply injured, and it was perceived that they were not sufficiently degraded tamely to endure offensive familiarity and nauseous insolence; and therefore it was inferred that implacable revenge, and treacherous objects, must occupy their thoughts.

On the basis of these surmises a fiction was invented of a secret committee, composed of members of the royal family, ministers of state, priests, and ex-nobles, meeting at the apartments of madame de Lamballe, to concert the ruin of the constitution, and re-establishment of the ancient system: they were feigned to derive their instructions and expectations of support from the imperial cabinet, and were therefore called *the Austrian Committee*. Against this pretended cabinet the garden and tavern orators, the news-writers, and the incendiaries of the assembly, united their efforts; the cordelier triumvirate, Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, denounced it; and even Brissot undertook to prove its existence and influence, though in the attempt he proved only his own malice and disregard of truth. He laid down as a principle an axiom which was afterwards most severely applied against himself; “that in conspiracies it is absurd to call

call for demonstrative facts and judicial proofs: it is sufficient that there exist strong probabilities\*.”

CH. VI.

1792.

These calumnies continually animated the fury of the populace; execrations of the king and queen were not confined to select parties, or even to promiscuous meetings, but their very residence was selected as the fittest spot for the utterance of the grossest abuse, and for insulting those who retained appearances of respect for the king and his family. These atrocities were feelingly described by the queen, in conversation with Dumouriez. “I am quite disconsolate,” she said; “I dare no longer approach the windows that look into the garden. Yesterday evening, when I appeared at that opposite the court, to breathe a little fresh air, a cannoneer of the national guard seized the opportunity to overwhelm me with gross insults; adding, by way of conclusion, ‘*what pleasure it would give me to have your head stuck on the point of my bayonet!*’ In this frightful garden you see in one place a man mounted on a chair, and reading the most horrible calumnies against us in a loud tone of voice; in another you perceive an officer, or an abbé, dragged towards a basin of water, and overwhelmed with injuries and blows; and during all this some play at football, or walk about, without the least concern. What a habitation! what a people!†” Prud’homme, a Jacobin journalist,

\* Biographical Memoirs, v. I. p. 243.

† See Life of Dumouriez, v. II. p. 207; Necker on the Revolution, v. I. p. 343; Moore’s View, v. II. p. 470. A song which



CH. VI. { journalist, and bookseller, after disseminating most  
 1792. insulting and anti-religious libels, under the title of *les Crimes des Rois*, and *les Crimes des Papes*, announced by posting bills at the very entrance of the assembly, that he would speedily publish a work, entitled "Crimes of the Queens of France, from the earliest Times down to Marie Antoinette inclusive." But a complaint against this audacious advertisement met with little notice from the assembly\*. Nor were the sufferings of the royal family confined to insults from the savage

was very common throughout the kingdom, was often sung in the queen's hearing, and began with the following calumny against her :

Madame Veto avoit promis  
 De faire égorger tout Paris,  
 Mais son coup manquoit  
 Grâce aux canoniers, &c.

The name *Veto* had been applied to her and to the king ever since the constituent assembly had left them that melancholy vestige of royal power.

\* Prud'homme did, in fact, publish the work : he was author, from the beginning of the Revolution, of an inflammatory journal, called *Les Révolutions de Paris* ; in which he often exceeded the views of the most strenuous friends of insurrection : the motto of his paper was a quaint incendiary pun—" *Les grands ne sont grands, que parceque nous sommes à genoux—LEVONS NOUS.*" In 1797 he began to describe the horrors he had witnessed, and in part excited, in a publication often quoted in the course of this work, called "*Histoire Générale et impartiale des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes commis pendant la Révolution.*" It was at first suppressed by the French government, but afterwards continued, and published in six volumes 8vo.

licentiousness

licentiousness of the multitude ; they were hindered in their own apartments from receiving those who would have been agreeable to them, and compelled to endure the presence of persons employed as spies on their conduct, and who were not even endowed with sufficient address to conceal their odious mission \*.

Many of these insults were doubtless contrived in hopes of compelling the king again to quit the capital, and by abdicating the crown, leave the contrivance of a new government to the struggle of factions, or the decision of chance ; but Louis had studied the constitution, with the honest view of guiding himself entirely by its sanctions, and could not resolve by his own act to be any thing less than king of France. Many measures were suggested, and occasionally practised by his friends, for purchasing, dividing, or misleading his enemies ; but these were only expedients, resorted to for momentary purposes, and abandoned or disclaimed after a short experiment : they were temporary barriers against a partial irruption ; while the swelling tide of jacobinism, gathering and roaring on every side, threatened the inevitable destruction of monarchy and the constitution. Many opposite, or at least incongruous, schemes were presented to the king's choice ; and every one whose project was rejected, attributed the alarming posture of affairs to that circumstance. Sometimes the orators of the ja-

\* Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 285 ; Moore's View, y. II. p. 439.

CH. VI. { 1792. cobin club were to be bribed from the civil list ; and even the lowest of their retainers advanced to the highest offices \* : sometimes plans were laid for turning the arms of the enemy against themselves, by securing or misleading the people in the galleries of the assembly : some were for prosecution and complaint on every occasion ; others for a mild and conciliatory demeanour, leaving the factious to pursue their own course till their enormities should excite general indignation, and so impel the people to wish for a reform †.

In consequence of the misfortunes attending the armies, the king was alarmed lest the populace, considering the emigrants an integral part of the imperial forces, should revenge themselves on the nobles and priests still remaining in Paris. To prevent these events, or a civil war, Louis deputed M. Mallet du Pan, a learned Swiss, zealously attached to his interests, to negotiate with the emperor, and exhort the French princes to avoid giving grounds, by a hostile concurrence, for making the present a civil war ; and recommended them to consign their interests to his

\* Collot d'Herbois, who had been hissed off a provincial stage, as an intolerable actor, and was afterwards horribly celebrated in the annals of murder, expected, and was grievously disappointed at losing the situation of minister of justice. See *Dictionnaire des Hommes marquans*, article Collot d'Herbois ; *Prud'homme*, vol. IV. p. 64.

† See Bertrand's *Private Memoirs*—*Passim*.



care, and that of the foreign contending courts, when CH. VI.  
1792. the period for treating of them should arrive : any other conduct would endanger himself and family, and cause a massacre of the royalists. He requested that the courts of Vienna and Berlin might frame a manifesto for themselves and other states who might have entered into the confederacy, distinguishing the jacobins from the rest of the nation, and encouraging all who wished for rational liberty under a monarchy limited by law. It was also to state, that the war was directed against a faction destructive of society, and not against the French people ; in defence of legal governments and laws, against a furious anarchy, destructive of all ties of social-intercourse, and all compacts protective of liberty, peace, and public safety. It was to remove all fear of dismemberment, and disclaim the right of imposing laws, but energetically to declare the assembly, administrative bodies, municipalities, and ministers, individually responsible in their persons and property for all outrages against the king, queen, and family, and the persons and property of all citizens. The foreign powers were to declare themselves ready to treat for peace, but it must be with the king at full liberty : a congress might then be formed for discussing the different interests ; the emigrants be admitted as parties complaining ; and a general plan of reform negotiated under the auspices and guaranty of the foreign powers \*.

\* See Bertrand's Annals, v. VI. p. 200 ; and his Private Memoirs, v. II. p. 186.

## CH. VI.

1792.

The diffensions between the ministers had now broken forth in open division; Servan adhering to Roland and Claviere, while Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon, by a more respectful demeanour, gained the king's confidence; and had their powers been honestly exerted, might have afforded him effectual protection. The popular party in the assembly had succeeded in exasperating the people on the refusal of a sanction to the decrees against priests; and the course of the war exposed the emigrants to increased hatred. The veto was rendered odious by repeated declamations; and petitions were ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup>ably received, which complained of the absurdity of ~~the~~ <sup>putting</sup> one man to ~~paralyse~~ <sup>the</sup> the will of six-and-twenty ~~ministers~~.

A new topic for clamour against the monarch arose in the formation of a constitutional guard for his palace; the measure was preceded by numerous reports of his intention again to escape, and a proposition of an additional oath, binding them in no case whatever to act against the constitution\*. Their number was fixed at twelve hundred foot, and six hundred horse; but on their first attendance the national guards insisted so strenuously on retaining the most important stations, that the king found himself obliged to comply with the demand, to save his new guards from massacre; and although he had received an additional force for the apparent purpose of protecting his person, he was more than ever exposed to rudeness and

\* See Bertrand's Annals, v. V. p. 345.

insult,

insult; of which these national guards were ever most ready to set the example. Cu. VI.  
1792.

Yet the constitutional guard, organised as it was, did not escape the jealousy of the jacobins. Bazire attempted to prove their dissolution indispensably necessary, falsely affirming that they 28th May. were for the greater part refractory priests, persons returned from Coblenz, and their servants; that in the *orgies* of their officers the healths of messieurs D'Artois, Condé, and Lambesc, were given with those of the king and queen; and that a white flag, given by her majesty, was concealed in their barracks. On this impudent and absurd denunciation the assembly ordered the Paris guard to be doubled, decreed their sitting permanent, and directed the mayor to give daily accounts of the state of the capital: the municipality also formed a permanent sitting; and Petion continued reporting the state of Paris in the same words, till general ridicule and contempt had followed the detection of the imposture.

Roland, Servan, and Claviere, founded on these circumstances a plan for promoting the views of their faction. Madame Roland had already suggested the necessity of removing Dumouriez, in order to secure their own power\*; and Guadet, at one of the cabinet dinners, introduced a long, harsh, insolent letter, in which the six ministers should require the king to dismiss his nonjuring confessor. Dumouriez and La-

\* Œuvres de Madame Roland, v. II. p. 93.



CH. VI. <sup>1792.</sup> coste refusing to concur, Guadet withdrew the epistle, with a threat that the proposition should speedily be renewed. From this time daily attacks were made on Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon, in the popular journals; and in a paper called the *Thermometer*, printed under Roland's own roof, the ministerial conversations were grossly misrepresented, for the purpose of calumniating the three ministers, and the king. The cabinet was in consequence irreparably divided, and the custom of dining together, even once in a week, discontinued \*.

To exasperate the people, Roland made a report on the progress of religious disturbances, attributing them to a coalition of refractory priests and aristocrats, and recommended to the assembly the adoption of measures which the jacobinical directories of departments had already enforced without the sanction of a law, compelling such priests to quit their own parishes, live within certain districts, and appear every day at a given hour in a certain place, on pain of forfeiting their pensions. The first measure proposed in the legislature, in consequence of this report, was, to transport all the nonjuring priests to Guiana; but at length Roland's memorial was referred to the committee of twelve, who were to report in what cases a nation might be allowed to eject from its bosom injurious members of the community; and on their

\* See Life of Dumouriez, v. II. p. 333.

report a decree was obtained, directing the imprisonment or transportation of all priests who declined taking the oaths. The king refusing to confirm this decree, the great object of the manœuvre was attained; numerous petitions were presented to compel the sanction of the decrees against the clergy; while Louis, with unexpected energy, declared he would rather encounter certain death, than assent to a law so repugnant to his religious principles.

CH. VI.  
1792.

In consequence of the absurd denunciations against the constitutional guard, that corps was formally suppressed by a decree of the assembly; but new jealousies were created, even respecting the Parisian national guard, and therefore Servan, in concert with the jacobins, and without consulting the other ministers, presented, from himself, a memorial to the legislature, requiring the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men round the capital. These new bands were to be selected from all the departments, and, from the known influence of the jacobin clubs, no doubt could be entertained of their destination and employment against the royal family. When this decree was presented in the cabinet, Dumouriez demonstrated its impolitic and wicked tendency; and the king again refused his sanction. The next day Roland read in council an audacious libel, written by his wife, in the form of a letter to the king, and which

1st June.

6th.

11th.

CH. VI.

1792.

which had been previously sent to him \*. It accused him of intentions to overthrow the constitution, of a systematic separation of interests and views from the legislative body, and peremptorily required him to sanction the decrees against priests, and for forming a camp, on pain of violent measures in the departments, and a general disaffection, which in the present state of effervescence, *might lead to any thing*. This most audacious letter, composed as it was of false charges and mysterious menaces, did not produce the expected effect on the mind of the king, animated in-

12th.

to vigorous resistance. He had, on the next day, a long interview with Dumouriez, who promised to support him in the constitutional exercise

13th.

of his rights ; and the three ministers repeating at the next council, their late solicitations with redoubled violence, were dismissed from their offices.

Successors to all these ministers could not immediately be found ; but Dumouriez was permitted to occupy the office of minister at war, and with it, that

\* Madame Roland explains the origin and composition of this famous epistle in these words : “ Le retard que le roi opposoit à sanctionner les décrets sur les prêtres, et sur le camp au-dessous de Paris, devenoit un refus, ou touchoit au terme du délai. Nous sentimes Roland et moi que le conseil n’ayant pas assez de nerf et d’ensemble pour se prononcer en masse, il convenoit à l’intégrité, au courage, de Roland de s’avancer seul, et nous arrêta mes, entre nous deux, sa fameuse lettre au roi, dont la rédaction nous fut confiée.”

Œuvres de Madame Roland, v. II. p. 103.

of



of foreign affairs, till the arrival of M. de Naillac, CH. VI.  
1792. minister at the court of Deux Ponts, on whom it had been resolved to confer the latter. Morgues of Montpellier, a calvinist, member of several academies, and an honest industrious man, was appointed the successor of Roland, as minister of the interior; and the finance department, or office of minister of contributions, was also consigned to him till a fit person could be found to occupy it separately. Dumouriez affirms that he consented to form a new administration, only in consequence of the king's undertaking to sanction the obnoxious decrees; and even recites at length a supposed conversation, between himself and the king and queen, in which he vanquished all their objections to the measures; but besides that this assertion is positively contradicted by M. Bertrand de Moleville, it appears improbable on every view of circumstances. If the king could be prevailed on to forego his own judgment in these points, it was needless to incur the odium of dismissing the three jacobin ministers on that account; the plain course of policy would have been to announce his sanction of the decrees first, and then his dismissal of these factious servants; a proceeding, against which the constitution did not give them or their friends a right to complain. Dumouriez appears to have been ambitious of the war department, in which he flattered himself with the hope of making a shining display of the boasted experience acquired during thirty-six years' service. The national guard of

VOL. I. e Paris

CH. VI. Paris had already given the jacobins considerable alarm  
 1792. by their petitions against the want of confidence in them, implied in the decree for a camp; and Dumouriez hoped by a judicious use of their influence, and by gradually bending the attention of the assembly to other objects, to obtain a relinquishment of the decree. With respect to the priests he was less solicitous, having perhaps no objection to leave that as a point of contest between the king and the assembly, and thought to enhance the merit of his own services by supporting the executive power against the odium which could be always easily excited on that subject\*.

14th. The ejected ministers lost no time in making the assembly a party to their cause; they announced their dismissal in separate letters to the president; and professing the purity of their devotion to the public, solicited a continuance of favour from the legislature. When Roland read his letter to the king, he prefaced it by saying that it should remain an eternal secret between them†, but he now perfidiously transmitted a copy to the legislature. The assembly, with enthusiastic applause, declared that the ministers carried with them the esteem and regret of the nation; and this decree, together with their letters, and that to the king, were ordered to be printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom.

\* For the circumstances attending this change of ministers, see Life of Dumouriez, book IV. chap. vii.; Bertrand's Annals, v. VI. p. 244 to 272, in which Roland's letter is included.

† See Life of Dumouriez, v. II. p. 360 and 385.

Whether through precipitation, vanity, or treachery, CH. VI.  
1792. Dumouriez appeared at the same sitting invested with his new office of minister at war ; and on his entrance was apprised by tumultuous cries and ferocious howlings from the galleries, of the impressions which had been made to his disadvantage. He behaved, however, with magnanimous dignity, and at the same time with considerable address. He began with reading a letter from La Fayette, announcing the fall of Gouvion, who was a member of the assembly ; him Dumouriez pronounced happy and worthy of envy, in having died fighting for the country, and escaped witnessing the frightful discord which disgraced the legislature. He then, after some impediments, read a memorial relative to the war department, freely censuring the measures adopted and proposed for recruiting the army ; and decrying the notion of a levy *en masse* as peculiarly impracticable and disadvantageous. In his exordium and conclusion he inveighed against the factions which divided the assembly ; and persevered in reading his paper, regardless of the interruptions, sarcasms, and even threats, of the Brissotines : when he had finished, he signed it in the hall, and depositing it with gravity on the table, retired through the principal door, regarding his opponents all the time with an air of fierceness. The mob, far from attempting to molest, contemplated him with curiosity, and even complacency ; and not an exclamation of censure marked the end of that visit to the legislature,



CH. VI. legislature, which had begun with such discouraging  
 1792. tumults. The jacobins declaimed with fury, and attempted to prove that Dumouriez was either an impostor or a traitor; either he had misrepresented the state of the army in his memorial, or it must have been an act of consummate treachery to urge a declaration of war while the nation was so unequal to a contest; some propositions were made for denouncing and sending him to Orleans, but the order of the day terminated the discussion.

17th. Dumouriez soon afterwards ceased to give offence to the faction: he could not acquire the desired preponderance in his new situation of minister at war, and therefore made haste to regain a portion of popular favour by resigning on the very same ground which had furnished him with a pretext for dismissing Roland and his friends. He peremptorily insisted that the king should ratify the two decrees; and on his persevering refusal, retired, together with Morgues, on the fourth day of their appointment. The king called into the cabinet M. de Chambonas, son of the field-marshal, as minister for foreign affairs; M. de Lajarre in the war-office; M. Terrier de Monciel, minister of the interior; and M. Beaulieu, minister of contributions: Duranthon and Lacoste remained in office. The assembly received the intelligence of Dumouriez's resignation with applause, and gave him leave to join the army; but the king was deeply affected at his treachery. "Only conceive,"  
 he

he said in a letter to M. Bertrand, "the strange CH. VI.  
inconsistency of this man; after having persuaded me  
to dismiss those three ministers, because they insisted  
on my sanctioning the decrees, he now abandons  
me for persisting in the measures which he himself  
urged \*."

At the period of his resignation, Dumouriez found no circumstance to encourage his continuance in office: the army was devoted to La Fayette, and that general, as well as the whole body of royalists, or, as they were called, *feuillans*, justly considered him an unprincipled intriguer. The jacobins incensed against him, were openly conducting plots which nothing but a confirmed hope of promoting his own personal views would give him courage to oppose. It was known that the Brissotines speculated on the *dechéance* or abdication of the king, and placing the prince royal under a regency composed of their own party †; and for this they had proposed the two decrees, hoping in consequence of the king's refusing his sanction, to attain by means of insurrection the desired end. A full disclosure of this project had been made by a secretary of Condorcet to M. de Lessart in his prison at Orleans, and through him transmitted to the king ‡.

\* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, v. II. p. 284, and Annals, v. VI. p. 285; and for the general events, same volume: Life of Dumouriez, book IV. chap. viii. and ix.

† Bertrand's Private Memoirs, v. II. p. 250.

‡ Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 288, and Annals, vol. VI. p. 308.

CH. VI. A petition which was presented to the assembly against  
 1792. the formation of the camp round Paris, signed by twenty thousand, and another by eight thousand persons, might have encouraged Dumouriez to act vigorously in supporting the crown; but on that side his personal hopes were not sanguine; and on the other he knew that the jacobins were preparing for an insurrection similar to that of October, 1789, and either party gaining the ascendancy would have placed him in a low and mortifying situation. One only chance remained; to renew his connection with the Orleans faction, await in silence the result of the collision, and forward the interests of his patron if he could, but in all events not neglect his own. He did not quit Paris for some days after his resignation.

The royalists and constitutional party now endeavoured to exert some effectual means for saving the king: M. de Lally Tollendal, who was at Paris, proposed a plan for obtaining his full liberty, and rendering him the mediator between France and the foreign powers; but this project was disapproved as depending too much on La Fayette \*. The jacobins would not, in all probability, have impeded a plan for the king's leaving the capital, or even the realm, since Petion and Manuel frequently remonstrated with him on the dangers he incurred by remaining, and proffered means of escape; but the king justly distrusting ad-

\* Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 325.; Annals, v. VI. p. 287.



vice from such a quarter, persevered in maintaining his post, and still, with fond reliance, looked to the constitution for protection \*. Firm in this principle, he declined an offer made him by La Fayette, to attempt the delivery of the royal family, at the head of the national guards, or even of the whole army †.

CH. VI.  
1792.

While the king's friends were endeavouring to strengthen themselves, and gain partisans, the various factions in opposition, forgetting their private feuds, united in perniciously active efforts to bring on the crisis of contention.

Their strength in the legislature was tried, on reading a letter transmitted by La Fayette from <sup>18th.</sup> his camp, which exposed their factious and unconstitutional conduct, extolled the patriotism of his troops, claimed freedom for the king, and an annihilation of the reign of the clubs. It was vehemently applauded by the members of the right side, and the printing of it decreed; but the motion for sending it to the eighty-three departments was resisted by Vergniaud and Guadet; and they succeeded at length in persuading the assembly, that the letter was either a forgery, or a composition written by some aristocrat over a signature of the general, on a blank paper †. This dextrous turn prevented the assembly from

\* Conjuración d'Orleans, v. III. p. 173.

† Bertrand's Private Memoirs, v. II. p. 329.

‡ See debates.—This suspicion was rendered probable by an intimation in the beginning of the letter of a change in the administration,

CH. VI. from deciding, as they probably would, the extensive  
1792. circulation of the letter, and gave to the Brissotines a negative victory, with the advantage of persuading many people that the paper read in the assembly was not genuine.

At the jacobin club their triumph was more decided ; there Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Collot d'Herbois, abused the general without reserve, and in the violence of their declamations did not spare Dumouriez, the new ministers, or even the king\*.

La Fayette also wrote a letter to the king, of the same date with that to the assembly, assuring him of protection, and exhorting him to maintain the authority delegated by the constitution ; but no great confidence could be reposed in the efforts or disposition of this general : his known avidity for popularity, his love of intrigue, his open avowal of the doctrine of insurrection, and his brutal treatment of the royal family during the latter days of the constituent assembly, were circumstances never to be forgotten. Nor

stration, which could not have been known to La Fayette at the time the epistle bore date (16th June). The fact was, that the letter, written on two or three separate sheets of paper, had been several days in the hands of some friends of the general, who being permitted to alter it according to their discretion, made a foolish use of this liberty, by changing the first paragraph in such a way as to give foundation to the surmise of fiction. Bertrand's Annals, v. VI. p. 301.

\* See Jordan's Political State of Europe, v. I. p. 173.

did he seem now to have much changed his disposition; he was not less in love with the constitution, from experience of its absurdity; and looked back with exultation to the measures which had depressed the royal power, and given birth to this deformed anomaly: even in the present awful crisis, he celebrated in his camp, the 17th of June, the anniversary of that day when the states general formed themselves, in defiance of the king, into a national assembly; he called his troops soldiers of the country, without naming the king; and made them engage to defend the national sovereignty against all its enemies, and protect the constitutional authorities which that sovereignty had established.

CH. VI.

1792.

On the ensuing day the jacobin faction was strengthened by the arrival of a detachment 19th.  
of brigands from Marseilles, who had been sent for during the administration of Roland, and were to supply the want of energy, which was loudly complained of, in the Parisian mob. This dirty band, armed with bludgeons, was admitted to the sitting of the assembly; where their leader made an incendiary speech, advising the legislature to use the popular force which constituted their strength, to strike, and to shew no quarter: this harangue was warmly applauded, printed, and sent to the departments. In the same day the ministers formally announced the king's refusal to sanction the two decrees which had been so long the subject of contention.

A popular commotion had been long resolved on,  
and



CH. VI. and the day was notoriously fixed for the 20th of  
 1792. June. The workmen of the fauxbourgs St.  
 16th. Antoine and St. Marceau had announced it

by a petition to the municipality, requesting leave to assemble in arms, and, dressed as they were in July, 1789, to present petitions to the assembly and the king. This proposal was negatived, as repugnant to the constitution; but the jacobin club, abetted by Petion and Manuel, resolved that the petitioners should assemble in defiance of contradiction. This tumultuous rising was the grand effort of all the factions, and was prepared with all their art and exertion. The walls were covered with placards, grossly abusive of the royal family; a public dinner was given in the Champs Elysées, where Cloutz presided; and Dugazon, an actor, sung songs to prepare the people for the destruction of the king. Gorsas, an agent of Brissot, declared, that on the morrow they must plant in the garden of the Tuilleries the Tree of Liberty; but it must be an *aspen*, not an oak; and Chabot harangued three hours in the church of the Foundlings, exciting the people to insurrection; while Santerre was equally busy in the fauxbourg St. Marceau, and other persons in the various districts of Paris\*.

20th. In the morning Petion sought to avoid responsibility by going to Versailles. Rœderer, *procureur-général syndic*, announced to the assembly, that a hundred thousand persons in military

\* See Biographical Memoirs, v. I. p. 284. v. II. p. 340.

array, who were collected on the site of the Bastille, encouraged by the presence of three members of the legislature, and the inactivity of the municipality, intended, after presenting a petition in that hall, to repair to the Tuilleries; and he requested the enforcement of the law by prohibiting the admission of armed petitioners. During the debate the mob required admission, affirming that their number did not exceed eight thousand; and La Source obtained it, by promising that they would leave their petition with the assembly, and not proceed to the palace.

One Huguenin, formerly a provincial lawyer, read the petition, which was replete with threats and invectives against the king and queen; and declared that the people had risen to avenge their outraged majesty, and blood must flow before the Tree of Liberty would flourish in peace. The president answered, that the assembly always saw with pleasure the citizens of Paris, assured of their patriotism; and that the dangers of the country alone could excite their inquietude.

Two hours were then occupied by the petitioners in marching through the hall; they were a motley and squalid band, drawn from all the receptacles of beggary, idleness, and infamy, in Paris, armed with pikes, rusty swords, scythes, pitchforks, twy-bills, bludgeons, pickaxes, and clubs. This miserable battalion consisted of coalmen, chimney-sweepers, shoe-blacks, wharf-porters, negroes male and female, and women of the lowest and most abandoned class. They carried

CH. VI.  
1792,

CH. VI. carried ensigns, with inscriptions denoting sanguinary  
 1792. ferocity, occasionally intermixed with coarse ribaldry. Some were inscribed, "Tyrants tremble, or be just, and restore the liberties of the people"—"Louis, the people are tired of suffering"—"Tremble tyrant, thine hour is come!" Other banners required the recall of the ministers, and the sanction of the decrees. One man, but he was driven out of the hall, had a reeking heart stuck on a pike, inscribed "The heart of an aristocrat." One carried ragged breeches on a pike, inscribed "*libres et sans-culottes*;" while others stuck on their arms pieces of bread, cheese, and other food: and one party, to excel all the rest in wit, carried in a dish the entrails of a hog, excepting the heart and liver, which they rendered descriptive of the aristocrats by a punning inscription—" *Ils n'ont ni CŒUR ni FOIE, ils n'ont que du moue.*" At the close of the procession, a pair of colours, presented to the assembly, were graciously received.

On leaving the polluted hall of the legislature the mob divided into three bodies, headed by Santerre, St. Huruge, and Theroigne de Mericourt; and, regardless of La Source's promise, proceeded to the palace, where they soon surmounted the slight opposition of the guard, who would not resist without express orders, and occupied all the apartments. The king, who had from a window observed their proceedings, repaired to a chamber called the *Œil-de-Bœuf*, the door of which was immediately assailed with various engines; and,



and, among others, with a dismounted cannon, which CH. VI.  
1792. was carried up stairs by manual strength, and used as a battering ram. The Swiss guards were preparing to shed their blood in an unavailing defence; but the king commanding them to desist, and calling four grenadiers to support him, unbarred the door, and presented himself to the furious multitude. His friends, fearing he would be borne down by the rapidity and violence of the rabble, placed him in the recess of a window, where he leaned on M. Acloque, while a few grenadiers formed round him to resist the torrent. The mob was so numerous, and poured in so rapidly, that no one could effect any premeditated purpose; but after venting a portion of fury in words, and menacing gestures, was obliged to give place, and “mingle with the herd that went before him.” Yet many pointed insults were offered; a young man, named Clement, stopped before the king, and reviled him in language which would have been characteristic in the mouth of his name-sake, the assassin of Henry III. Legendre, the butcher, sallied into the room at the head of a new division of rabble, uttering threats, and accosting the monarch in the language of the shambles. “*Monsieur*,” said he; and seeing the king surprised at this new style, he repeated it—“Yes, *Monsieur*, listen to us—Yes, *Monsieur*, it is your duty to listen to us: you are a traitor; you have always deceived us, and deceive us still; but take care of yourself, *Monsieur*, the measure is full, and the people

CH. VI. people are tired being your dupes." After this harangue one of the mob presented a bottle, and desired the king to drink the health of the nation, which he immediately did; another, evidently in liquor, and hearing the king say the nation had no better friend than himself, required him to prove it by putting on the red-cap; and, on his consenting, two of them placed it on the top of his hair, for it was too small for his head. The king yielded to this indignity, under a firm persuasion that had he resisted, the drunken man would have plunged his pike into his bowels. No doubt can be entertained, indeed it is avowed by writers of every party, that the intention of some of the insurgents, most probably of those engaged by the Orleans party, was to assassinate the king\*; but although the most infamous libels were hawked about and sold at low prices in the garden of the palace, and the most treasonable and inflammatory falsehoods scratched and chalked on the walls, the work of murder was left incomplete, and the virtue of the monarch once more triumphed over the plots of his enemies.

Great part of the popular rage was, as usual, directed against the queen. On the first alarm she caught up the dauphin in her arms, and ran towards the *Œil-de-Bœuf*, but the mob had already blocked up the passages. She was stopped in the council-room

\* See particularly Prud'homme, *Histoire des Erreurs*, &c. v. IV. p. 37, et seq.

by general Wittinghoff and the minister Lajarre, who CR. VI.  
1792. formed a feeble rampart of the council-table, behind which they placed the queen, the dauphin, the princess-royal, and all the ladies who refused to quit her side. This table was defended by a double line of national guards; and there the queen was obliged to remain during the whole of these horrible scenes, agonised by a knowledge of the king's danger, and a helpless hearer of the incendiary and obscene reproaches which men and women of the lowest class seemed unwearied in repeating. The dauphin, like his father, was disguised in the blood-coloured emblem of licentiousness; and the queen was compelled to submit to the same disgrace. Marie Antoinette displayed the same contempt of danger which distinguished the king; she was desirous to send back a body of grenadiers whom he had detached for her protection; but they persisted in obeying their first orders. At length Santerre forced his way to the place, and snatched the red-cap from the dauphin, exclaiming, "The child is smothered! why is this cap left on his head?" And then in a low, but distinct voice, added to the queen, "You have very awkward friends, madam; *I know those who would serve you much better* \*."

The behaviour of the princess Elizabeth was in perfect conformity with that of her august relatives. She followed the king to the *Œil-de-Bœuf*, where the mob,

\* See Bertrand's Annals, v. VI. p. 324.

thinking



CH. VI. thinking she was the queen, loaded her with insults  
 1792. and threats. Some of her attendants attempting to explain the mistake, "For God's sake," she said, "do not undeceive them; is it not better they should shed my blood than that of my sister\*?" In the whole course of the day she never left her brother's side, nor ever lost her presence of mind.

The national assembly, which had risen immediately after the departure of the mob, resumed their sitting in the afternoon; they treated with rudeness, and frequently interrupted, those members who described in due terms of indignation the atrocities which were committed in the palace, but at length they deputed twenty-four members to express their solicitude for the king's safety. The deputation reached him with difficulty; and when the mob, grown languid by the repetition of insult, no longer shewed a formidable aspect, offered to protect him *and share his dangers*. The king said he was in the midst of his people, and feared nothing. While the deputies were fruitlessly endeavouring to disperse the mob, Petion, at six o'clock in the evening, arrived at the palace, with the appearance of perfect leisure. He advanced to the king, saying, "Sire, I was only this moment informed of your situation\*, but you have nothing to fear."—"Nothing to fear!" replied the

\* Necker on the Revolution, v. II. p. 292.

† This assertion, considering all the circumstances of preparation and notoriety, must have been false.

king,

king, with indignation; “the man whose conscience CH. VI.  
1792. is pure, and free from reproach, can never fear. Here, my friend,” he added, taking the hand of a grenadier, and pressing it against his bosom, “feel, and tell that man if my heart beats faster than usual.” The mob had frequently pressed him with furious acclamation to sanction the decrees, and recal the ministers, but he replied, “I shall do what I consider to be right; this is not the moment for you to ask, or for me to grant, favours.” Convinced that the insurrection would not produce the expected advantages, Petion said, “Citizens, you have now made your desires known to the hereditary representative, with the energy and dignity becoming a free people, who understand their rights. The *king* at present knows, and will undoubtedly pay proper regard to, the intentions of the *sovereign*. You ought now to retire with calmness and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.” The obedient rabble immediately filed off through the king’s apartments: at nine the palace was cleared.

The deputation, returning to the assembly, gave an account of their mission; and Petion following them, stated the events in a speech made up of gross falsehoods, and of those fallacious equivocations which prove more thorough depravity of mind, than is demonstrated even by the most flagrant falsehoods. “Every thing,” he said, “indicates the greatest calm. Persons, property—all were respected. What

CH. VI. has happened? *The people were passing through the*  
 1792. *Tuilleries, when several citizens proceeded to the*  
*king's apartments; they insulted nobody; nor had the*  
*king any reason to complain."* Such was the detestable  
 attempt of the chief magistrate, whom his associates in  
 wickedness, with impudent affectation, have honoured  
 with the epithet *virtuous*, to palliate a premeditated,  
 forcible irruption of forty thousand people into the  
 private apartments of the sovereign, so as to make it  
 appear the accidental intrusion of *several* persons, who  
 were passing through the Tuilleries, but who insulted  
 no one, and gave to the king himself no right to com-  
 plain. The assembly loudly applauded this infamous  
 harangue, and closed the sitting at ten o'clock, with-  
 out expressing the slightest disapprobation at the events  
 of this day \*.

But although the legislative body was so easily  
 satisfied, the public in all parts of the kingdom felt  
 deep indignation. The populace of Paris who had  
 not been actively engaged in the insurrection, mingled  
 with their invectives against those who excited it,  
 expressions of admiration at the firm and noble con-  
 duct of the king and his family. Even in the assem-  
 bly some symptoms of compunction appeared,  
 21st. by a vote prohibiting the appearance of armed  
 citizens at their bar; and a motion was made for  
 prosecuting the authors and instigators of the insurrec-

\* See Biographical Memoirs, v. I. p. 67, et seq. and v. II.  
 p. 339, et seq.; and Bertrand's Annals, v. VI. p. 316, et seq.  
 tion.



tion. This proposition was pressed on the attention of the assembly, by a message from the king ; and, notwithstanding the intemperance and interruption of the jacobins, the whole matter was referred to the committee of twelve. Couthon imputing the whole insurrection to the king, moved that, in extreme cases, the assembly might make laws independently of the executive power ; but this proposition was over-ruled by the order of the day. The national guards seemed also to partake in the general remorse by their honest and effectual efforts to prevent armed and seditious collections of the people. The king increased these favourable impressions by a judicious proclamation, denouncing the conduct and views of the factious; asserting his own resolution not to be impelled by force to the adoption of measures which he considered repugnant to the public interest ; and declaring, that if they who wished to overthrow monarchy had need of one crime more, they might commit it.

This proclamation produced a general sensation in favour of the king, but its desponding terms were truly indicative of the state of his mind. He gave way to gloomy forebodings, frequently perused the history of Charles I., and wished only to die by the hand of an assassin, that the nation might not be stigmatised for his murder. He rejected many propositions for effecting his escape, lest his family should fall victims to the popular fury ; a thought he could not endure,

P 2

though

CH. VI. though he could be himself a willing and contented  
 1792. sacrifice\*.

24th. To counteract the probable effect of the public feeling, the jacobins endeavoured to keep up an active solicitude respecting the two decrees; and the assembly, on the report of the committee of twelve, rendered ministers responsible for the refusal of the sanction. Contradictory motions were debated with great acrimony, and the contest of the parties appeared to be equally balanced; but the jacobins had the unrivalled advantage of posting inflammatory bills, terrifying the tranquil or the timid out of the assembly, and procuring daily deputations with incendiary petitions. Many loyal addresses were also forwarded from departments and municipalities; but the arrival of fresh bodies of Marseillois gave increased spirits to the jacobins, and presaged final success to their efforts.

28th. At this crisis intelligence arrived that the armies had learnt with lively indignation the occurrences of the 20th of June, and that several battalions had only been restrained from repairing to Paris, and chastising those who had insulted the king, by La Fayette, who promised to be the bearer of their sentiments, and enforce them in the assembly. The prospect of this mission inspired hopes in some of the king's friends; but those who had studied the character of La Fayette, formed more moderate expectations;

\* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, v. II. p. 296, et seq.

and the event proved that they were right. He made an energetic speech, which was received with considerable applause, and procured him an invitation to the honours of the sitting; but hardly had he taken his place, when Guadet, Vergniaud, and other members of their faction, attacked him with equal eloquence and energy for abandoning his post, threatened him with impeachment, and even moved for an enquiry whether the minister at war had licensed his absence; a proposition which was warmly debated, and negatived only by a majority of five, while the general remained passive and stupified, wanting presence of mind to urge the consideration of his message, or resolution to appeal against the indecency with which he was treated. The populace, who had paid him some marks of respect on his arrival, now burnt him in effigy; while from the tribunes of the jacobin club, denunciations and ludicrous invectives were showered on him in abundance. Disappointed, derided, and trembling for his safety, this rash and shallow adventurer quitted Paris, without gaining for himself or the king the slightest advantage; but having by his temerity and weakness added to the resources as well as the insolence of his opponents\*. On his departure he left a letter to the assembly, conceived in terms sufficiently forcible; but those effects which his presence had failed to produce, could not be expected to

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 473.



CH. VI. flow from a paper which was not read without inter-  
 1792. ruptions, and then referred to the committee of twelve\*.

29th. The next day the ministers, in pursuance of a decree, attended to recommend a measure of defence in lieu of the camp of twenty thousand men; and, after many debates, an encampment was voted at Soissons, to be formed from volunteers then on their march, who had been selected to answer the views in Servan's original proposition, and who were also permitted to attend in the capital and celebrate the federation. Thuriot obtained a decree for disbanding the staff of the national guard, making the sittings of the sections permanent, and declaring the country in danger. This measure was adopted in consequence of the bad news from the armies; and was speedily followed by a declaration from the king of hostile intentions entertained by the king of Prussia.

1st July. In the mean time many petitions were received from armed and municipal bodies, enforcing the topics urged by La Fayette; particularly one from Rouen, which from an exaggerated statement of numbers was called the petition of twenty thousand. Reports were made on the state of the nation, which gave no satisfaction to any party; and it was known that a grand denunciation against the king and his ministers was in preparation, and to be opened

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 393.

by Brissot, in form of a discussion on the general safety of the country. M. Duranthon had already resigned, and was succeeded by M. Dejoly; and the great aim of the faction was understood to be that of driving the other ministers from their places. CH VI.  
1792.

At the moment, however, that the discussion was going to commence, when all were hushed 7th. in expectation of some great production from Brissot, the abbé Lamourette, constitutional bishop of Lyons, obtained attention, and after describing the uncertain and divided state of government and the country, exclaimed, "To what may all these distrusts be reduced? One part of the assembly ascribes to the other the seditious design of destroying the monarchy; the others ascribe to their colleagues the intention of destroying the constitutional equality, and of establishing the aristocratical government, known under the name of the two chambers. Let us annihilate for ever, by a general execration, and by an irrevocable oath, both the republic and the two chambers." The whole assembly applauding the proposition, rose together, and solemnly swore, never to suffer either by the introduction of the republican system, or by the establishment of two chambers, any change in the established constitution. Amid this enthusiasm the word *unite* was heard, the deputies of opposite parties rushed into each other's arms, those who had been most at variance embracing with the greatest warmth, and sitting ostentatiously side by side. When this scene and the plaudits

CH. VI. { plaudits of the galleries had ceased, a deputation of  
 1792. twenty-four was sent to inform the king ; who on his attendance, accompanied by his ministers, was cheered with unusual greetings of *Vive le Roi!* His speech, declaring his satisfaction, was received with cordial acclamation, and his departure attended with similar plaudits. Brissot replaced his intended harangue in his pocket, requesting time to revise it, and expunge all allusions to dissensions now to be forgotten for ever ; and an account of the transactions of the day was ordered to be sent to the departments.

But whatever transports of enthusiasm this extraordinary and unexpected scene might excite, or whatever sincerity might dictate the momentary exhibitions of cordiality and joy, those who judged the extinction of party too sudden to be lasting soon found their opinion verified. On the same day, in the evening sitting, the popular party greedily seized an opportunity of reviving disputes with the king. The directory of the department of Paris, at the head of which was the duke de la Rochefoucault, a virtuous ex-noble, and zealous supporter of the constitution, had constantly resisted the armed meeting on the 20th of June. On the ensuing day they published a declaration that the seditious commotions could not have taken place had the laws for preserving the public peace been duly observed. They persevered in their enquiries, and in defiance of incendiary  
 motions,



motions and threats, suspended Petion and Manuel from their offices. CII. VI.  
1792.

The examination of this affair being referred to the king, he desired the assembly to decide on it, as he was personally concerned. This just and reasonable request was resisted as repugnant to the constitution; and the jacobins, determining to maintain in the public mind an opposition between the king and the mayor, passed to the order of the day. 7th.

In two days after the scene occasioned by Lamourette, Brissot again produced his speech, every paragraph of which teemed with rancour against the king, who was mentioned in the most contemptuous terms; and his ministers, who were loaded with abuse. After sophistically attempting to prove that the king had abdicated the crown, according to the spirit, though not the letter, of the constitution, he moved *in the name of the king* that his conduct should be enquired into; and a report made on the subject of abdication, to prevent the possibility of escaping, through the obscurity of the law, the penalty incurred by the greatest of crimes. The speech was printed, and referred to the committee of twelve. 9th.

The ministers, however, did not await the decision, but made reports on the state of the nation, describing with energy the disorders occasioned by the clubs and their affiliations, the deficiencies of military and naval force, and the facility of 10th.  
of

CH. VI. of making peace with Austria, if acts of provocation

1792. were avoided. They then announced that as it was not in their power to rescue the kingdom from anarchy, they had that morning given in their resignation. The faction testified their triumph by exclamations and shouts of joy, and the ministers, with dignified contempt, quitted the hall, leaving them to their indecent exultation. The

16th. king soon afterwards appointed M. de St. Croix minister for foreign affairs; M. Dubouchage for the marine; M. d'Abancour to the war department; M. Champion minister of justice; and M. Leroux de la Ville minister of contributions.

Meanwhile the clubs and sections were actively preparing for a triumph over the court, and the directory of the department, by the restoration of their favourites Petion and Manuel. Lamourette moved in vain for an amnesty on all the events of the 20th of June; the faction, proud of the popularity of their cause, and buoyed up by repeated petitions and addresses, insisted that the king should decide on the case of the mayor and procureur-général, without

even hearing their explanations\*. The king, 12th. unable to remove the suspension without exposing the directory of the department to persecution, confirmed it, stating his reasons in a wise and tem-

\* Petion had written a pamphlet, entitled General Rules of his Conduct towards the People, declaring as a fundamental principle that he would on no occasion cause their blood to be shed.

perate letter, which was most disrespectfully received CH. VI.  
1792. by the assembly. When it had been read, Petion presented himself at the bar, and was welcomed with an observation that now the language of truth and virtue would be heard. His speech was replete with falsehood and calumny, but received with vehement applause; the whole subject was referred to the committee of twelve, who rapidly decided that the suspension should be removed; and the assembly concurred, without even permitting the documents to be read. A similar decree was pronounced in favour of Manuel, and the directory of the department resigned their offices\*.

The period of the confederation now approached, and it was rendered additionally alarming by the arrival of large bands of *fédérés* from the departments, who were selected from the most furious votaries of the clubs, and presented petitions of the most inflammatory and unconstitutional tendency. A plot formed by Santerre to murder the queen was betrayed, and the assassin arrested, but rescued by his party†. The public were kept in alarm by reports of conspiracies to be executed on the day of confederation; the barracks of the *école militaire* were searched on suspicion of a plot; and the regular troops compelled to leave Paris.

\* He was heard the 15th of July, and his suspension removed on the 23d. See Biographical Memoirs; articles Manuel and Petion.

† See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 337, and Annals, vol. VII. p. 15.



**CH. VI.** The people were even agitated by a report that gun-  
 1792. powder was deposited under the altar to blow up the national assembly in the act of taking the oath, and were only undeceived by an examination on the spot.

The ceremony of the confederation, though  
 14th. loaded with several new burlesque pageantries, was, however, on the whole, quiet and orderly. The royal family were placed in a balcony covered with crimson velvet, which gave rise to some petulant exclamations from the mob; and the cries of *Vive le Roi!* were mingled with *Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le Veto! A bas le Département!* The king, however, taking the oath on the altar, instead of remaining in his place, as on the former occasion, completely gratified the populace; and he quitted the *Champ de Mars* amid loud and general acclamations\*.

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 83; Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 16.

## CHAP. VII.

*The King of Prussia joins with the Emperor—They prepare to invade France—Manifesto proposed by M. Mallet du Pan—Plots of the Faction in Paris—Petition of the Fédérés—Different Views of the Faction—Petitions for deposing the King—State of the Army—Luckner's Visit to Paris—His Letter to the Assembly—False Charge against La Fayette—Disproved—Recruits enrolled—Further Manœuvres of the Faction—Proceedings of the allied Armies—Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick—Its Effects—The Garden of the Tuilleries shut—M. de Espremenil assaulted—Proceedings of the Assembly—Arrival and Conduct of the Marseillois—Sagacious Decrees of the Assembly in Favour of Prussian and Austrian Deserters—The King's Letter on the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto—Petition of the Commune for his Deposition—Proceedings of the Section of Mauconseil—Petitions from all the Sections of Paris—Arts used to influence the People—Preparations for an Insurrection—Last Court-Day at the Tuilleries—Negotiations of the King's Friends with Brissot and Santerre—Petition of the Fédérés—All Petitions referred to the Committee of Twelve—Events of the 10th of*

*of August—The King deposed—Separated from his Attendants—Exposition of Motives—The Royal Family confined in the Temple—Republican Exertions in Paris—State of the Army—First Proceedings of the Allies—Conduct of Arthur Dillon in the Deposition of the King—Crafty Conduct of Dumouriez—Rash and feeble Proceedings of La Fayette—He runs away, and is taken Prisoner—Dumouriez commands the Army—Progress of the Allies—Investment of Thionville—Capture of Longwy—Verdun—The Invaders approach Chalons—Measures of Defence taken by Dumouriez—Consternation in Paris—The British Ambassador withdrawn—Le Brun's Letter to him—Declamations against the King of France—And Kings in general—Jean de Brie's Motion to engage a Corps of Regicides—Thomas Paine and others made French Citizens—Terror of Roland—Views of Danton—Numerous Arrests—And horrible Massacre in the Prisons—Murder of the Princess de Lamballe—Cruel Device of the Mob to insult the King and Queen—General Contempt of the Legislative Assembly—Insolence of the Commune—Progress of the Elections for the National Convention—Assassinations and Robberies in Paris—The Garde Meuble de la Couronne plundered—Dissolution and general Character of the Legislative Assembly.*

CH. VII. 1792. **D**URING these transactions the king of Prussia, faithful to his engagement with the emperor, prepared to co-operate with him in resisting the aggression.



gression of France, and an invasion was agreed on in Ch. VII.  
1792. which the joint forces were to be commanded by the duke of Brunswick, who was considered the first general in Europe\*.

After surmounting some difficulties in verifying his commission, M Mallet du Pan was received in a most gracious and confidential manner by the emperor and king of Prussia; their ministers entirely approved his plan of a manifesto, and declared that no view of ambition, personal interest, or dismemberment, entered into the projects of their sovereigns. They wished to restore order in France for the sake of peace, which could not exist till the reign of anarchy was terminated; they did not however pretend to impose any form of government, but left that arrangement to the king and nation. As the projected invasion was about to commence, M. Bertrand, who conducted the correspondence on the part of the king, recommended in his name, that all peaceable citizens should not only be spared, but effectually protected†.

The faction which had so long agitated the capital, was, at this period, less interested in opposing the efforts of an external enemy than in procuring the downfall of the royal power; against which their animosity daily increased. Their private councils were turbulent and uncertain; and their mutual rivalry

\* Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 498.

† Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 389; vol. VII. p. 19.

CH. VII. was with difficulty prevented from producing open  
 1792. hostilities. The contempt of the public for their characters and proceedings prevented any general exertion in their behalf; and although delusion and calumny had rendered the people indifferent to the fate of the royal family, the faction could obtain for themselves no strenuous indications of favour, except from prepared mobs, prompted petitioners, and their own immediate dependents or expectants. Such were at once their malice and their impotency, that they seriously discussed the propriety of murdering one of their own friends, and imputing the crime to the court, in order to excite the indignation of the people\*.

The fédérés from the departments were less than three thousand in number, but as they formed the chief hope of the party, they were detained in Paris, contrary to a decree of the assembly, directing them, after the confederation, to repair to the camp at Soissons. These men petitioned the assembly to suspend the executive power in the person of the king, discharge the staff and other military officers appointed by him, change the judicial bodies, impeach La Fayette, and punish the directories of departments and districts. This insolent pretence of a handful of provincial soldiers to legislate in all matters

\* See *Œuvres de Madame Roland*, vol. II. p. 251; and *Histoire du Règne de Frédéric-Guillaume II. Roi de Prusse*, par Ségur, vol. II. p. 261.

civil and military for the whole empire, occasioned CH. VII.  
some indignation, but the assembly, though they 1792.  
passed to the order of the day, basely invited the petitioners to the honour of the sitting.

To procure a decree of forfeiture of the crown was the general aim of all the members forming the popular junto, but their ulterior projects were widely different: some thought of establishing a council of regency during the minority of the dauphin, and ruling the realm by their influence in the legislature \* ; a second party hoped to make the duke of Orleans regent, and by moulding him to their will to govern in his name; while a third party, too low to expect influence at court, too limited in talents to gain ascendancy in the legislature, and too recently introduced to hope for authority with the duke of Orleans, concealed their views with cautious mystery, intending to make the utmost advantage of any change, but in all events to retain their influence with the rabble, by whose means they could at all times render themselves useful or dreadful;—these were the men who afterwards assumed the honour of founding the republic. All concurred in presenting daily petitions for the deposition or suspension of the king; in all which the utmost malignity of invention could not supply a single allegation against his conduct; all were replete with general declamations, vague sur-

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 51.



CH. VII. <sup>1792.</sup> mises, and assertions of rights or principles of government expressly repugnant to the constitution. The king was therefore, in fact, the only zealous protector of that code; while those who, with affected invocations, swore to maintain it or die, and pronounced its enemies the foes of mankind, were labouring to effect its destruction.

In the progress of their task, they felt considerable alarm from the disposition of the army: La Fayette's visit to the capital was remembered with terror and indignation; and Luckner, professing the same sentiments, excited an equal portion of hatred, though not of fear, as he was less renowned and less popular. He also arrived in Paris a few days after the departure of La Fayette, and was summoned to give an account of his proceedings at the bar of the assembly. He answered, that he could account only to the king; the narrative of his operations would be found in his correspondence which they had already demanded from the minister at war; and reminded the legislature of their zealous protestations and promises of recruits, notwithstanding which the ranks of the army continued thin, and the supplies deficient. The next day he disavowed this letter, saying it was not his own composition, but that his signature was extorted; and he was reproached in the assembly with drunkenness or dotage.

Although Luckner's visit to the capital produced neither honour to himself nor advantage to any party,

party, the Brissotines founded on it an accusation against La Fayette, equally false, absurd, and atrocious. La Source, one of their orators, declared that Luckner had mentioned to six of their party, at the house of Gobet, an invitation conveyed to him from La Fayette by Bureau de Puzy, to join with him in marching their armies to Paris. Guadet supported the accusation, adding that he had taken down Luckner's words, which he read in broken French, such as the old marshal spoke; and the paper being left at the bar, was signed by him, Brissot, Delmas, Genfonné, La Marque, and La Source. La Fayette, in a letter to the assembly, distinctly and contemptuously denied the charge; De Puzy, being examined at the bar, not only disavowed the transaction, but refuted the allegation by the production of a correspondence between La Fayette and the marshal; and, finally, Luckner himself, by letter, expressly denied the fact, and complained that his conversation had been misrepresented. Brissot, however, persevered in moving the impeachment of La Fayette; but the general being defended with great zeal and ability by the leaders of the constitutional party, was acquitted\*.

Meanwhile, under pretence of recruiting, great numbers of volunteers were enrolled

21st  
July.  
CH. VII.  
1792.

26th.

29th.

4th

August.

8th.

20th

July.

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 241.

CH. VII. from among the lowest rabble of the capital; and they  
 1792. too, before their departure for the army, presented petitions in the usual style of the day. These recruits were relied on as sure means of spreading disaffection and insubordination among the troops; while  
 30th. the king's personal defence was further weakened by a decree for removing the Swiss guards from Paris.

The helpless and forlorn state of the royal power encouraged sedition, and rendered concealment or restraint unnecessary. The project of overturning the government was avowed both in print and in speech: the club orators declaimed in favour of an agrarian law; and Brissot disseminated the project which Petion had alluded to in the constituent assembly, of forming a national convention, by the unqualified suffrage of every man in France\*. Secret councils were held at Charenton, where it was resolved that a new constitution, and the abolition of royalty, were absolutely necessary; but differences of opinion arose as to the means; some recommending an open attack in the legislature, while others, and their opinion prevailed, advised a secret process in which the mob should act without any avowed instigators†. The numerous parties intrusted with the secret of this conspiracy,

\* Conjuraton d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 174; Petier's late Picture of Paris, vol. I. p. 37.

† Garat's Memoirs, p. 38.



had, however, so little confidence in each other, that Vergniaud, Guadet, and Genfonné, by letter, offered to relinquish the plan, if the king would recal Roland, Claviere, and Servan; but Louis absolutely refused to comply, and, with indiscreet generosity, returned to the conspirators a letter with which he might have secured their neutrality, or effected their ruin. They intended to execute their project on the 29th of July, but some friends of the king, being apprised of the danger, ingeniously contrived to avert it for the moment\*.

CH. VII.  
1792.

The combined forces had now commenced active operations. The emperor and king of Prussia published strong and judicious declarations of their motives for engaging in hostilities†; but on the 25th the armies being put in motion, a manifesto July. was issued by the duke of Brunswick, which, from the great portion of attention it has excited, demands particular notice. It is previously to be observed, that Mallet du Pan, considering his mission terminated, had retired to his native country; and this paper, drawn up by M. Dulimon, as dictated by the ministers of the emperor and king of Prussia, was signed by the duke of Brunswick, who had not been consulted in the composition‡.

\* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. III. p. 8.

† See these papers in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part II. pp. \*277 and \*280.

‡ See Bertrand's Annals, vol. VI. p. 83.

CH. VII.

1792.

It began by recapitulating the aggressions of France against the rights and possessions of the German princes; the unprovoked declaration of war against the emperor, the invasion of his dominions, and the defensive alliance which impelled the king of Prussia to take up arms in the cause. Both sovereigns, it proceeded, had most cordially in view the important object of terminating the anarchy which prevailed in France; they were anxious to stop the attacks made on the altar and throne; and to restore to the king his legitimate power, liberty, and safety, and the means of exercising his constitutional authority. Convinced that the sober part of the nation detested the excesses of the faction which enslaved them, and awaited only a favourable moment to declare themselves openly, the duke proclaimed,

1st. That the allied courts had no object in view but the welfare of France, without pretending to enrich themselves by conquests :

2dly. They did not mean to intermeddle with the internal government, but merely to deliver the royal family from captivity; and ensure to the king that safety which was necessary for his making such convocations as he should judge proper, and for ensuring the welfare of his subjects :

3dly. The combined armies would protect places, persons, and property, where they found submission to the king, and a disposition to concur in the restoration of order and police :

4thly.

4thly. The national guards were called on to pre-serve tranquillity in all towns and places till the arrival of the combined armies, or until orders to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; but national guards fighting against the allies should be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels: Ch. VII.  
1792.

5thly. The regular troops, both officers and privates, were called on to return to their allegiance:

6thly. The members of departments, districts, and municipalities, were rendered responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all crimes, conflagrations, murders, and pillage, which they should suffer to take place, or not endeavour to prevent; and they were to continue their functions till the king, when set at full liberty, should make further arrangements, or until further orders in his name:

7thly. The inhabitants of towns, burghs, and villages, who should dare to defend themselves against the troops of the allied armies, and to fire upon them either in the open country, or through doors or windows, were to be punished instantly according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses demolished and burnt. On the contrary, all inhabitants of such towns, burghs, and villages, as should readily submit to the king by opening their gates to the allied troops, should be under their safeguard and protection, and persons and property effectually secured.

The eighth article was in these words: "The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall



CH. VII. shall be called upon to submit instantly and without  
1792. delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his, and to all royal persons, that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns : their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern ; and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered—the least outrage done to their majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction ; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they have deserved : their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided

provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.” CH. VII.  
1792.

Finally, the allied sovereigns protested against all acts and declarations issued in the king's name so long as he was not at liberty, and his family in safety; and they therefore intreated him to appoint a town on the frontiers to which he would retire, and where he might in safety send for such ministers and counsellors as he chose to nominate; and order such convocations as would provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

And, in his own name, the duke promised to enforce order and discipline among his troops, to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who should submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force only against those who should be guilty of resistance, or manifest evil intentions. He therefore called on all the inhabitants of France not to oppose the troops under his command, but rather to permit their free entrance into the kingdom, and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances might require.

In two days afterwards, on a rumour that the jacobins intended carrying the king and royal family to some place in the south of France, the duke issued another proclamation, reinforcing the eighth article of his former manifesto, and declaring, that if the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal

27th.

CH. VI. royal family, should be removed, the rigours denounced against Paris should be extended to every town and place which had not opposed their passage ; and the route taken by the offenders should be marked with a series of exemplary punishment, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there was no remission. All the inhabitants of France were called upon to take warning of the dangers with which they were threatened, and which it would be impossible for them to avoid, unless they opposed with all their might the passage of the royal family to any place where the factious might wish to carry them \*.

Although these papers were not officially delivered, they were printed and profusely circulated, and descanted on in the manner which suited the views of the party which governed the press. Every paragraph which breathed a spirit of mildness, lenity, or justice, was left unnoticed or burlesqued, while those which contained imprudent or unjustifiable threats, were loaded with execration as the produce of monstrous arrogance, cruelty, and injustice. The first manifesto, for that was principally considered, wrought irreparable injury to the cause of the allied sovereigns, and to the unfortunate prince they intended to befriend. " All parties, some violent royalists excepted," says Bertrand de Moleville, " were provoked

\* See State Papers in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part II. pp. \*283, \*286.



at the boastings of the duke of Brunswick, or laughed at him. The factious did not fail to attribute to the suggestions of the king all the menaces respecting the safety of himself and his family; and thence concluded, that his majesty was in correspondence with the enemies of the nation. How could it be expected that the threat of giving up Paris to be pillaged would have any effect upon the jacobins, few of whom had any property there? Still less was it calculated to intimidate the brigands, who had flocked thither in such numbers, only in the hope of that very pillage, for which they would not have failed to join the Austrians and Prussians \*.”

CH. VII.  
1792.

The unfavourable constructions to which this manifesto gave rise, justified the jealousy of the faction, and the insults with which they had so long loaded the king; while the fear of implicating themselves in the charge of defending it, deterred many well-disposed persons from shewing any sentiments of kindness towards him, or of indignation against his opposers. Some previous proceedings had excited sensations which might have united a respectable body in the king's favour. Even Petion had been obliged to disperse a mob collected in the fauxbourg St. Antoine for the pretended purpose of searching in the palace for concealed fire-arms. The assembly had passed a decree that known merchants alone should be fur-

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 83.

CH. VII. { nished with passports, a measure far from agreeable  
 1792. to the public ; and Guadet had imprudently moved  
 an address to the king, which exposed his party to  
 great contempt by openly shewing their eagerness  
 to secure power to their favourite ministers.

Another proceeding of the assembly shocked all considerate people, besides giving great uneasiness to the royal family. Since the 20th of June the gardens of the Tuilleries had been shut, but the populace, by a petition to the assembly, obtained leave to assemble on the terrace of the Feuillans, where a guard was placed to prevent their trespassing. An affray was soon excited, in which M. d'Espremenil was seized, and after sustaining great personal injuries, difficultly rescued from the mob, who were bent on his murder. The national-guard petitioned the assembly to prevent the renewal of these outrages by shutting the terrace of the Feuillans ; but this reasonable request was refused, and the committee of domains ordered to report whether the garden of the Tuilleries belonged exclusively to the first public functionary. The king anticipated the decision, by throwing open his portion of the gardens ; but revolutionary orators persuaded the rabble, that it was beneath their dignity to accept a favour so long arbitrarily withheld ; or to frequent that land of Coblenz, where only court valets, emigrants, and conspirators, ought to be seen. A line was drawn on the ground, and tri-coloured ribands tied across the passages, to which the people  
 pinned

pinned gross libels ; while the mob orators inveighed Ch. VII.  
 against the royal family in terms of the most nauseous 1792.  
 abuse.

The disgust occasioned by these proceedings was further increased when an ill-looking band of fédérés from Marseilles, arriving in Paris by desire and for the support of the faction, made their progress through the city ; and, after a violent assault on a few national guards, beat, abused, and robbed of their hats, all the bourgeois who wore silken instead of woollen cockades, which these brigands declared to be the only true signs of equality.

Had the king, at this period, been able to adopt any of the numerous plans presented for his escape, it could hardly be doubted that a great portion of the nation, seeing the oppressions and insults to which he had been subjected, would spontaneously have declared themselves in his favour, or at least rallied round his standard at the first favourable moment. But it was far otherwise when a threatening manifesto would have deprived them of all credit, and stigmatised them as yielding to the dictates of fear alone.

The assembly counteracted the invitation 2d  
 of the manifesto to their soldiers, by decreeing August.  
 as a principle, that “ desertion was but an honourable exercise of a natural right, when men quitted a land of slavery to live in one of liberty ;” and declaring, that every deserter from the armies of the enemy should be received with fraternal affection as a French citizen,



CH. VII. citizen, enjoy a pension of a hundred livres (4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*), which on his decease should be continued to his widow : no military engagement was required, but every one who chose to enlist should receive the ordinary bounty ; and the pensions of those who died should be continued to survivors, till each obtained five hundred livres (21*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) a-year. Immediately on the promulgation of this alluring decree, desertions became unusually frequent in the Prussian and Austrian armies, while no French soldiers quitted their standards.

2d Aug. The king introduced the duke of Brunswick's manifesto to the notice of the assembly, by a letter, disavowing the sentiments it contained, stating his own love of peace, his regard for the honour of the French nation, and his constant attachment to the constitution. His letter was most indignantly received ; the reading frequently interrupted by murmurs and exclamations that it was not true ; and after several incendiary speeches, Petion, with a deputation from the commune, delivered a petition, complaining of all the faults imputed to Louis since the meeting of the states-general, and demanding his deposition. This petition was referred to the committee of twelve, and served as a model for proceedings in various parts of Paris : the section of Mauconseil, assuming on the occasion the title of Bon-conseil, passed a resolution, that as liberty could not be saved by the constitution, the constitution

stitution could not be regarded as the expression of <sup>CH. VII.</sup> the general will; and as Louis XVI. had lost the con- <sup>1792.</sup> fidence of the nation, they would no longer acknowledge him as king, but retracted all their oaths of allegiance; and they resolved to petition the assembly for his deposition, vowing rather to bury themselves under the ruins of liberty than submit to the tyranny of kings; and inviting all the sections of Paris to adopt their resolution, and meet them on the 5th at the *Boulevard de la Madeleine* to appear before the legislative body. To these resolutions they annexed an address of most regicide composition; calling the king a contemptible tyrant; exhorting the people not to waste their time in weighing his errors, crimes, and prejudices, but strike the frightful colossus of despotism, and let the noise of its fall make tyrants to the extremities of the earth grow pale.

The assembly considering these acts as calculated to produce an alarm unfavourable to the cause of their ruling faction, annulled them as unconstitutional, but they received with applause petitions requiring the deposition and impeachment of the king; and permitted the orator of a deputation to insult them, by saying, that if they refused to save the country, the people would do it themselves. Addresses to the same effect, and in nearly the same expressions, were in four-and-twenty hours voted by all the sections in Paris; except those of the *bibliothèque*, and the

CH. VII. the *arsenal*, who petitioned against the address of the  
 1792. commune, but were received with murmurs of the assembly, and hootings by the gallery.

The populace were not only exasperated by false reports, but incited by delusive promises to sanction and concur in these acts; they were led to believe that the deposition of the king would reduce the price of food; that the civil list would be divided among the *fans-culottes*, and all offices of emolument be left at their disposal. By these means, the faction had gained such an ascendancy, that they dared to publish beforehand, and in all parts of the kingdom, the very day when their conspiracy was to take effect \*. From the 1st of August the workmen of the fauxbourgs were kept in pay, and passed their days and nights in drinking, awaiting the orders of their chiefs †. The people were alarmed by reports of a conspiracy, and taught to believe that hosts of armed men were concealed in the palace to destroy all the people of Paris ‡. The royalists ineffectually posted placards, 5th invoking the aid of all good citizens §. On August. Sunday the 5th of August, they paid, for

\* Moore's Journal, vol. I. p. 8.

† Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 2.; Fennel's Review of Transactions, p. 271.; Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. I. p. 39.

‡ Fennel's Review, p. 340.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. I. p. 360.; Histoire de la Conspiration, par M. Bigot de St. Croix, p. 34.

§ Historical Account by a National Guard, p. 31.



the last time, the mournful homage of an attendance at court: their numbers were respectable, considering the extent of emigration, but they were disarmed, and doomed to see the progress of the factious in solitude and despondence \*.

CH. VII.  
1792.

Yet the royalists, and even the constitutionalists, were assiduous in offering the king money, and in suggesting projects for his escape; all were, however, disapproved, or rendered impracticable by indiscretion or accident. The populace, inflamed to the highest degree of resentment by the acquittal<sup>8th.</sup> of La Fayette, no longer affected to preserve any regard for the constitution, or respect for the constitutional members of the assembly, whom they grossly reviled, threatened, and insulted. As a last attempt, the king's friends endeavoured to negotiate with Brissot, who readily made his proposals; but they were so exorbitant that the civil list could not find adequate supplies. He demanded twelve millions of livres (525,000*l.*) in cash, or good bills of exchange, and a passport to quit the kingdom; a proof that he already anticipated those divisions among his adherents which would make him gladly sacrifice ambition to wealth and safety †. A treaty was also commenced with Santerre, who for eighty thousand livres (35,000*l.*) engaged to use all the means in his power

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 113.

† Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 249.

CH. VII. for preventing the attack of the palace : part of this  
 1792. sum was actually paid to him, when the transaction was discovered to some of the jacobins. The queen, with dignified generosity, apprised Santerre of the event; who secured his own safety by active hostility and incessant persecution of the royal family \*.

The fédérés petitioned for the deposition of the king, and declared their resolve to adopt no part of the constitution but the rights of man; and  
 9th. to throw a veil over that, they required also the convocation of the primary assemblies, at which all but mendicants and vagrants should vote, for the purpose of confirming the deposition of the king, and fixing the number of representatives competent to form a national convention. They also demanded an abolition of directories of departments, the reduction of the staffs of armies, the exclusion of nobles from posts of command, the recal of the patriot ministers for the purpose of investing them *pro tempore* with the executive power, and a decree of accusation against La Fayette, with a declaration that his appearance at the bar of the assembly, and his letter, were sufficient to warrant his immediate arrest. All the petitions for the king's deposition were referred to the committee of twelve, the greatest part of whom were devoted to the party of Brissot; and Petion had already given notice that if the deposition was not decreed, the fate of the assembly was decided.

\* Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 127.

While

While the conspirators were preparing for the insurrection, the friends of the king, with means far disproportioned laboured for his preservation. Mandat, commander in chief of the national guard, was loyal and firm; sixteen picked battalions of his force marched to the palace, and by six o'clock in the evening all the posts were trebled: the fidelity of the Swiss guards was highly and justly appreciated; and the officers of the disbanded constitutional guard, with a great many gentlemen and royalists, assembled in the *Œil de Bœuf*, armed with swords and pistols. Petion had given Mandat a written order to repel force by force; and the royalists swore to shed the last drop of their blood in protecting the person and family of their sovereign.

CH. VII.  
1792.

At midnight the *tocfin* gave the dreadful signal of insurrection, the *générale* was beat; the agents of the faction, hastily collecting in the sections, voted the dismissal of all the municipality and commune, except Petion, Danton, and Manuel, and elected in their stead a hundred and ninety-two commissioners from among the most desperate of their own body, appointing Huguenin president, and Tallien secretary. The excellent dispositions made for defence of the palace rendered an immediate attack imprudent; and a reinforcement of two thousand four hundred national guards arrived with eleven pieces of cannon; but many of these, and all the artillery-men, were devoted to the revolutionary faction.



CH. VII. Petion, whose whole conduct shewed the terror and  
 1792. irresolution of his party, came to the palace on the first alarm; but, by all the arts of finesse, avoided giving any general direction or opinion. The grenadiers of the national guard at length surrounded, for the purpose of detaining him, but he contrived to impart to one of his friends his desire to escape.

Roused by the *tocfin* and the *générale*, a few members of the legislature began at one o'clock to assemble in the hall; at two they were sufficiently numerous to transact business; and being made acquainted with the wish of the mayor, decreed his attendance at the bar, to give an account of the state of the capital. The grenadiers did not dare to oppose this order; he appeared, was admitted to the honours of the sitting, and then repaired to the *Hotel de Ville*, where he was placed under a guard of three hundred men, who secured him from being required to interfere.

The new commune next summoned Mandat before them; at first he refused, but the command being more peremptorily repeated, reluctantly obeyed. His surprise at sight of new officers deprived him of utterance: he was ordered to the Abbaye; but on quitting the room was shot and stabbed, the order of Petion was taken from his pocket, and his corpse was thrown into the Seine. Santerre being now appointed to the chief command, removed from the Pont-neuf the battalions placed by his predecessor to prevent the junction of the insurgents from the opposite

posite side of the river, and scattered all the troops who were attached to the king in such a manner that their exertions could be of no use. CH. VII.  
1792.

Meanwhile Louis, who had passed a restless night, divided between exertions for the safety of his family and the duties of religion, descended at half past five o'clock into the court-yard, and, attended by the queen, the princess Elizabeth, and his children, inspected the posts, and reviewed the guards. At first he was greeted only with the loyal exclamation *Vive le roi*, but the artillery-men cried *Vive la nation*; and two new battalions arriving during the review, raised shouts of *Vive Petion*; while others without exclaimed *A bas le veto! A bas le traître!* The new-comers soon seduced others; and the national guards retreated, carrying off their cannon, and preventing fresh battalions from reaching the palace, under pretence that it was filled with *chevaliers du poignard*, and that the Swiss had determined in case of an attack to fire on the people. This jealousy unfortunately spread its effects among the more loyal adherents of the king, and they once requested him to dismiss those faithful associates; but the queen with noble energy resisted the proposition.

At six o'clock the main armies of the insurgents from the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, armed with pikes and muskets from the arsenal, and supported by an immense mob of men, women, and children, collected in every direction, marched to-  
wards

CH. VII. wards the palace. The king sent the minister of  
 1792. justice to the assembly, to inform them of his danger ;  
 while the best dispositions were made for resisting  
 with the small force which remained loyal, the im-  
 mense body which was advancing to assail them. The  
 vanguard arrived at the *Place du Caroufel*, when Rœ-  
 derer, the *procureur-général syndic* of the department,  
 after a specious harangue requiring the mob to select  
 twenty of their number to present a petition, called  
 on the troops to defend their post in conformity to  
 law, and repel force by force. He was answered  
 only by a small portion of the national guard ; while  
 the artillery expressed their contempt and disobedience  
 by unloading their pieces before his face.

On his return to the palace, Rœderer requested a  
 private audience ; and after informing the king and  
 his ministers that the danger was imminent beyond  
 expression, the greater part of the national guard cor-  
 rupt, and disposed to join the insurgents and massacre  
 all persons in the palace, advised the royal family to  
 repair immediately to the hall of the national as-  
 sembly. The queen, discerning the true intent of this  
 hypocritical proposal, exclaimed, " Nail me to the  
 walls rather ;" but, vanquished by the repeated asser-  
 tions that the lives of her children depended on it, she  
 at length complied. The king, as he was departing,  
 said to his ministers and the other persons surrounding  
 him, " Come, gentlemen, there is nothing more to  
 be



be done here \*." The progress of the royal family to the hall of the assembly was impeded by the immense collection of people, and rendered disgusting by licentious and profligate abuse. The king's arrival was a real victory to the conspirators ; but they dissembled their savage exultation till the fate of the day was decided, and paid him the last homage rendered to royalty in France, by a deputation of ceremony.

CH. VII.  
1792.

Seating himself by the side of the president, he said, " I am come hither to prevent a great crime. —Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." Guadet, who occupied the chair *pro tempore*, replied, " You may rely, Sire, on the firmness of the national assembly ; its members have sworn to die in defence of the rights of the people, and of the *constituted authorities*." The royal family relied so implicitly on this promise, that the queen expressed her satisfaction to M. d'Hervilly, a Swiss officer, that the plans for their escape had been rejected. Guadet observing that an article in the constitution forbade deliberations in presence of the king, his majesty descended to the bar ; but this not appearing to remove the objection, the royal family and their attendants were crowded into a small box ten feet square and six feet high, situated behind the president's chair, and

\* These words are particularly cited to prove the injustice of an accusation, afterwards invented, that the king sought only his own personal safety, and left his friends to lose their lives in defending his palace.

CH. VII. called the *loge du Logographe*, from its being appropriated to the reporters for that newspaper.

1792.

When the king had quitted the Tuilleries, the mob advanced in three columns with several pieces of artillery; the cannoneers and national guards in the palace declared in their favour, the Swiss guards and gentlemen alone retaining their fidelity. The mob collected in the Caroufel began by putting to death, on the instigation of Theroigne de Mericourt, nine persons who had been arrested in the night, and carried their heads on pikes, in the usual mode of revolutionary triumph. At nine, ammunition arrived, and the insurgents, among whom the Marseillois were most conspicuous, having beat down the gates, drew up in two squares, while the artillery-men, removing six cannon from the sides of the court, pointed them against the palace. The defenders of the royal residence, though not in the proportion of one to fifty of the assailants, insufficiently armed, and ill supplied with ammunition, persevered in maintaining their post. The Swiss stationed at the foot of the staircase, arrested the progress of the mob for nearly a quarter of an hour without firing; but at length some of the invaders, having long pikes with hooks at the end, drew towards them successively five sentinels whom they disarmed and murdered. The Swiss now fired for the first time, and the rabble having, with ill-directed aim, discharged their artillery, precipitately evacuated the courts, which were occupied by the Swiss,

Swiss, who also took possession of several pieces of CH. VII.  
1792.  
cannon. Still they could only perform acts of valour creditable to themselves in separate platoons, but not tending effectually to resist the tide of assailants which swelled on every side. The gentlemen in the palace, after long waiting for the king's return, prepared to join him, and collecting some Swiss and national guards, making with themselves about five hundred, attempted to go out by a small iron gate leading to the Pont-royal; but the Swiss, being distinguished by their regimentals, were fired on, and after many endeavours a very few escaped, under the protection of the Venetian ambassador, who received them into his hotel, and lent them disguises.

As soon as the noise of firing was heard, the orators in the assembly were silenced; the president put on his hat, and many of the members, with ludicrous indications of terror, sought safety in flight, but were restrained by the remonstrances of their colleagues. The king, anxious to prevent bloodshed, dispatched orders to the Swiss to lay down their arms, and come into the hall. M. d'Hervilly, a valiant and worthy officer, insisted on being the bearer of this command; and after sustaining many insults, encountering great difficulties, and receiving a wound, arrived at the spot where these brave and unfortunate men were performing prodigies of valour. They were exposed to two fires; from their assailants in front, and from the treacherous national guards in the rear.

D'Hervilly



CH. VII. D'Hervilly soon found, that in their situation resistance must be unavailing, and therefore communicated the order. He was so well convinced of the king's danger, that had the slightest probability of success appeared, he would have served his royal master against his will, and encouraged the Swiss in defending themselves to the last extremity. He repaired to the assembly attended only by the Swiss who were in the courts: at first their number amounted to a hundred, but only sixty reached their place of destination, whence they were carried to the guard-house, with orders to repair to the barracks at Courbevoie; their clothes being given to the mob, were torn and carried on pikes, or worn in small pieces as trophies. Those who had not been able to join M. d'Hervilly were inhumanly massacred, though they threw down their arms, and desisted from further opposition. Decency and humanity recoil from the task of reciting the barbarous indignities practised on the bodies of these unfortunate victims after their death, in which women were eminently conspicuous: and for the credit of human nature, it were to be desired that irrefragable testimony had not confirmed the fact, that in the capital of France some of these human bodies were roasted and devoured, and draughts of human blood quaffed by the people. They carried their rage against the Swiss to such an excess, that many individuals dressed like them were sacrificed to their undistinguishing fury; and not only those who  
wore

wore uniforms, but even porters at the principal houses in Paris, who were generally of that nation, were marked out for vengeance. Of seven hundred and fifty, the original number of privates, only a hundred and eighty were preserved; and of these only thirteen survived the early days of the ensuing month. The mob, when completely masters of the palace, butchered all whom they found; door-keepers, porters, and even the lowest menial servants: four ladies \*, and the queen's waiting women, had alone the good fortune to escape, under the protection of a detachment of national guards. The whole number slaughtered on both sides in the course of the day is estimated between four and five thousand. The most innocent excesses of the rabble were the plunder and destruction of the moveables and ornaments of the palace, and the intoxication attended even with death, produced by insatiate drinking of the wine in the cellars.

While the success of the insurrection was uncertain, the faction preserved such a line of conduct as they imagined they could justify in any event. From this caution proceeded the answer of Guadet to the first expressions of the king, and some temporising replies

\* Mesdames de Tarente, de la Rocheaymon, de Gineftoes, and mademoiselle de Tourzel: the mother of this young lady and the princess de Lamballe were with the royal family in the loge du Logographe.

CH. VII. to petitioners requiring his deposition ; but when all  
 1792. danger was removed, their conduct was also changed. Similar petitions, attended with threatening declamations, were afterwards received with fraternal kindness, and those who presented them invited to the honours of the sitting. Finally, in a tumultuous assembly, where less than three hundred deputies were mixed with a countless rabble of men, women, and children—some in rags, some armed, and some covered with blood, and uttering dreadful imprecations—Vergniaud presented the report of the committee of twelve ; and the assembly pronounced the decree for suspending the royal functions, and calling a national convention. Having gratified the people by printing and publishing this decree, the assembly voted their sittings permanent, till the meeting of a national convention ; the establishment of a camp under the walls of Paris, to be formed of all citizens who chose to enlist ; authorised domiciliary visits for the purpose of seizing arms concealed in the houses of suspected persons ; recalled Roland, Claviere, and Servan, to the administration, joining to them Danton as minister of justice ; Monge, originally a stone-cutter at Meziers, but enabled to study mathematics by the charity of the abbé Bossut, and distinguished only as a furious jacobin \*, was made minister of the marine ; and Le Brun, an indolent and uninformed man, but equally violent in

\* Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 127.



principles with his colleagues \*, was appointed to the foreign department. And these men were invested CH. VII.  
1792. *pro tempore* with the executive power.

During this day, the last in which Louis was distinguished with the name of king, he sustained unexampled indignities both from the mob and the deputies. A man leaning over the rails of the *loge du Logographe*, with his hat on, placed his head near the king's, and reviled him with every term of abuse which language could supply; and Chabot took occasion to observe, that all the miseries of the country were owing to that traitor there, pointing at the king. The danger of the royal family was so alarming, that many persons thought their massacre certain; and the king and the ministers pulled up the iron railing which separated them from the assembly, that they might in a moment take refuge in the hall. Their apprehensions were not derived from slight circumstances; as the assembly seemed to encourage the mob in their ferocity, and the words *LA MORT* were chalked in large letters over the *loge du Logographe*. The Luxembourg was at first appointed for the abode of the royal family; but a deputation having stated that the citizens were alarmed on account of the subterraneous passages at that palace, the captives were compelled to sleep in the lodging of the architect of the *feuillans*. They did not leave the *loge du Logo-*

\* Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 127.

CH. VII. *graphe* till one o'clock in the morning, having remained there sixteen hours with no refreshment but a little fruit, and a beverage made of currants \*.

1792.

On the following day the royal family were  
 11th. led back to their former confined station, and still doomed to hear augmenting reproaches from all classes of people, while the grossest untruths were related with applause respecting the late transactions; and the assembly applauded every new effort of violence, and sanctioned the republican fury which had already manifested itself in the destruction of all statues, images, and portraits of kings, together with those of Mirabeau, Necker, and La Fayette, so lately objects of popular veneration. The food of the royal family was this day supplied from a neighbouring eating-house; and at night, wearied with their situation and the insults they had sustained, they retired to their former apartment. Even here new persecutions attended them; their conversation with their few remaining friends was the next day reported to  
 12th. the assembly as evidence of a plot to escape; M. de Rohan Chabot, one of these virtuous at-

\* For the events of this day, see Biographical Memoirs, vol I. pp. 89 to 94, and 251 to 255, with the authorities there cited: also Bertrand's Annals, vol VII. chap. xxviii; Histoire générale des Crimes, &c. vol. IV. p. 58.; Journal de Clery, p. 6, et seq.; Major Money's History of the Campaign of 1792, p. 11, et seq.; Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. VIII. p. 142, et seq.; Histoire Philosophique, par Fantin Desadoards, vol. II. p. 152, et seq.

tendants,

tendants, was imprisoned, and the other four obliged CII. VII. reluctantly to quit the side of their sovereign. The 1792. harsh terms in which this order was announced, forced from Louis an exclamation, at once plaintive and prophetic: "I am in prison, then," he said: "Charles I. was, however, happier than I; he retained his friends till he ascended the scaffold \*."

The chief business of the assembly on this day was to vote an address, called, "An exposition of the motives on which the French national assembly have proclaimed the convocation of a national convention, and pronounced the suspension of the executive power in the hands of the king." This paper was the production of Condorcet, and is a complete specimen of audacious mendacity, and wilful misrepresentation: the statements relative to the king's conduct were completely false; and the conspiracy imputed to him against the people, on the 10th of August, was afterwards proved to be no less so, by the confession of the leaders of various parties, who all acquitted the king, by arrogating it as a merit to themselves †. This address was dispatched to the departments, and

\* Whoever takes the pains to compare the treatment experienced by these two unfortunate princes in the course of their captivity, will find many reasons to extol the superior humanity and lenity of the English nation, even in a puritanical age, and when no pretences to superior refinement were advanced.

† See the Paper in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, p. 11. P. \*317.

to



CH. VII. to the armies ; and commissioners, chosen from among  
 1792. the assembly and the new commune, were deputed to assist its effect by their attestations, and by distributing copies of papers pretended to have been found in the king's escritoire, and in the houses of his ministers.

13th. The assembly at first determined to confine the royal family in the hotel of the minister of justice ; but Manuel was directed to remonstrate, that in such case the department could not answer for their safety, as an escape might be effected by means of communication with the circumjacent dwellings ; and therefore obtained a decree that they should be confined in the tower of the Temple. To this dismal abode the royal prisoners were conducted at three o'clock in the afternoon. A prodigious concourse of people surrounded the carriage, insisting that the glasses should be kept down ; and Petion, who rode with the royal family, affecting to take umbrage at the queen's manner of surveying the people, desired her to look with more mildness. The mob insulted the prisoners with scurrilous invectives, but abstained from violence ; and on their arrival at the Temple, Petion, conducting the king to an apartment, assigned it to him as a bed-room. The king claimed liberty, at least, to sleep where he pleased ; but the mayor replied, " No ; this is your bed-room, and here you are to sleep." Such was the first specimen of conduct towards a captive prince whom the assembly declared they

they had confided to the care and virtues of the citizens of Paris; and for whom Manuel had promised all the respect due to misfortune. CH. VII.  
1792.

Nor was the persecution against the friends or partisans of the royal family for a moment suspended; the decree authorising domiciliary visits occasioned numerous arrests, which, as the barriers were shut, it was impossible to avoid. The garden and street orators persevered in their harangues against the treachery of the king, and profligacy of the queen; at the theatres, pieces recommending republicanism, and inculcating regicide, were most favourably received; and the form of prayer for the royal family was no longer permitted to be read in churches\*. All editors of journals favourable to the king were apprehended or compelled to abscond, their printing-offices robbed, and their presses carried away or destroyed. The section of Marseilles sanctioned by a proclamation the destruction of the effigies of kings; the words indicating royalty were expunged from the fronts of all public buildings and dwelling-houses; and the names of streets, squares, and bridges, underwent a conformable alteration. Even the statue of Henry IV., round which the populace had so lately been used to rally, and before which they had made all passengers bow bare-headed, was sacrificed to the prevailing fury; and a deputation boasted to the as-

\* Moore's Journal, vol. I. pp. 107, 278.

CH. VII. <sup>1792.</sup> ssembly of their inflexibility in triumphing over their feelings in behalf of an image \*. The jacobins also formally adopted Brutus as their patron; his bust was pompously inaugurated in their hall; and at the instigation of Manuel, who had previously acquired the nick-name of *anti-roi*, the club swore, “ that all their efforts should be bent on the important object of clearing the earth of that pest called royalty;” and the oath was transmitted to all the affiliated clubs †.

The task of securing the army, which the assembly had most at heart, presented more difficulties in appearance than in reality. The principal officers were attached to the constitution, but an active subordinate party were zealous in recommending every innovation by which they could hope for advancement. Among the chiefs of this faction was Dumouriez, who soon after his retreat from the cabinet had accepted a subordinate situation in the army, and being intrusted with the camp at Maulde, was employed in disciplining the soldiers, but still more in attaching them to his own person. He had regained the good opinion of the jacobins by corresponding in abject terms with the national assembly instead of the ministry, and by boasting of great exploits performed by his troops in resisting an attack made on his camp by

\* Fennel's Review of Proceedings, p. 403.

† Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 256.



a superior force. His attachment to the duke of Orleans gave him many friends, and the desire of the jacobins to raise him up as an opponent to La Fayette, facilitated his return to public favour; but he, a crafty and selfish intriguer, was bent only on his own advancement, and ready to avow any party or system which promised to promote that darling object. The privates could not be expected to combat for a code from which no benefit had yet been experienced; nor could officers who had laboured to extinguish the generous spirit of loyalty, expect to be followed in a march against the assembly, while a foreign foe menaced the frontier. The declarations of the emperor and king of Prussia concurred in representing that Louis was not at liberty when he accepted the constitution, and therefore no reasonings could convince the troops that to fight for him and for the constitution were synonymous terms; and to have quitted their positions after the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, would have subjected them so strongly to imputations of cowardice, that every honourable and manly principle strongly opposed it. In fact, the contrariety of opinions which prevailed respecting domestic government, animated the troops with redoubled resolution to oppose the external foe: all considerations of affairs at home presented divided duties, and left the will puzzled and uncertain; the duty of soldiers to defend their country against an

s 2

invader

Ch. VII. invader was clear and definite, and liable to no mis-  
 1792. interpretation.

It was foreseen that the attack of the Prussians would be directed against Longwy; and Luckner was instructed to oppose them in front, while La Fayette harassed their flank. The duke of Saxe Teschen had made a feint to divide the French troops, by leading an Austrian corps towards Bavay; La Fayette and Luckner not being deceived, ordered Dumouriez to raise the camp at Maulde; but he, sensible that in case of obedience his importance would be absorbed, and his hopes of promotion retarded, refused to quit his position; and his conduct was highly approved by the jacobins in Paris. La Fayette directed the arrest of Dumouriez, but general Arthur Dillon was afraid to execute the order; and La Fayette and Luckner, unable to accomplish their first plans for want of reinforcements, witnessed, without resistance, the advance of the combined forces.

13th. Dillon, who commanded the army of Flanders, being first apprised of the king's deposition, issued orders, declaring those who had perjured themselves enemies of the public liberty; and renewed his oath of fidelity to the constitution, the nation, the law, and the king. Dumouriez, perceiving that this conduct would ruin Dillon, declared in favour of the late transactions, gave honourable welcome to the commissioners of the assembly, and  
 took

took the new oaths as they required. Luckner and CH. VII.  
1792. most of the other generals adopted the same conduct, and Dillon himself afterwards made his peace, though he suffered in rank by his rashness.

La Fayette alone had the spirit to risk a last effort in support of his idol, the constitution: being by a singular accident apprised of the events of the 10th of August, before any account reached the army\*, he assembled the administrative bodies of the department of Ardennes; and, on his responsibility, prevailed on them to decree the arrest of the commissioners from the assembly, who were supposed to be invested with special powers for taking him into custody.

He next required the municipality of Sedan to detain the commissioners, promising, by 13th. his own responsibility, to shield those who obeyed him from every danger.

At the same time a short address to the soldiers was circulated, reciting in few words the late transactions, but injudiciously adding, that the assembly was enslaved; and referring to their choice, whether they

\* He had sent M. d'Arblais, an officer of distinction, with dispatches to the war-minister. On the morning of the 11th, M. d'Arblais met near Paris a grenadier of the national guard, who informed him of the late events; and, after surmounting some opposition from the municipal officers, he returned to Sedan, and imparted the intelligence to his general. See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 479.

would



CH. VII. would re-establish the inheritor of the crown, or have  
 1792. Petition for a king. With this exertion La Fayette's  
 vigour seemed to be exhausted, he made no effort to  
 take advantage of the indignation manifested by his  
 troops, but left them open to every succeeding im-  
 pression; and though the commissioners were provi-  
 14th. sionally arrested, took no measures for se-  
 curing the fidelity of the army.

The national assembly pronounced a decree of ac-  
 cusation and degradation against him; new commis-  
 sioners were dispatched with powers more extensive,  
 and orders to avoid coming within the reach of his  
 influence: the streets of Paris echoed with clamours  
 and reproaches; a price was set on his head, and all  
 citizens charged to assist in apprehending, and autho-  
 rised to destroy him. Divisions soon arose among his  
 troops; a great part professed adherence to him, but  
 several battalions declared for the legislature; and de-  
 fectors who repaired to Paris were honourably re-  
 ceived, to encourage others in following their ex-  
 ample. Thus La Fayette passed five days, irresolute,  
 incapable of action, and conscious that the reins of  
 power were slipping from his feeble grasp. The  
 troops began to testify dissatisfaction at the arrest of  
 the deputies; the patriotic club of Sedan excited riots  
 round the place of their detention; and a rumour  
 prevailed that Dumouriez was at Valenciennes, con-  
 certing hostile measures with the new commissioners.  
 Discontent daily increased, and the soldiers contemp-  
 tuously

tuously refused to take an oath which La Fayette had directed. At length he terminated his inglorious career by a clandestine flight, leaving the municipality of Sedan, and all those who had been misled by his representations, and promises of responsibility, to sustain the vengeance of the triumphant party, without giving them any notice of his designs, except an incoherent letter ; or affording them an opportunity of retracting from, or excusing their conduct. He was attended in his flight by Bureau de Puzy, Alexander Lameth, La Tour Maubourg, their aides-de-camp, and servants, making in all twenty-three. They took their route through the woods of Bouillon, and, favoured by the darkness, escaped unperceived. A little beyond Rochefort they were descried by a picquet-guard of Limbourg volunteers, under count d'Har-  
21st.  
 noncourt, who took them prisoners. In answer to enquiries respecting their destination, La Fayette said it was his intention to pass behind the Austrian army to Maestricht, from thence through Holland to England, where he should embark for America. The captors, however, treated him and his four principal associates as prisoners, conveying them first to Wesel, afterwards to Magdeburg, and then to Olmutz : the inferior officers were set at liberty \*.

Many

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 481.; Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 266, et seq. The national assembly confiscated La Fayette's

## CH. VII.

1792.

Many questions have been raised respecting the justice of thus detaining these persons, and even the regularity of their capture ; but it seems that under all the circumstances, taken as they were, with the national cockade, the badge of hostility, in their hats, in arms, and without a pretence of mission or public character, nothing but the utmost rage of faction could suggest an argument against the legality of the act. They themselves justified the conduct of the allies by the terms in which they demanded liberty ; *as French citizens*, who had never failed to promote the liberty of their country ; and who quitted it because no longer able to resist violations of the constitution, which the national will had established. They also declared, that having resigned their commissions, they could not be considered as military enemies, and *still less as belonging to that class of their countrymen whom interests, sentiments, and opinions, directly contrary to theirs, had induced to connect themselves with the powers at war with France*. The policy of detaining them is much more doubtful ; the friends of the constitution, resenting their treatment, became actively hostile to the allies ; and the emperor and king of Prussia subjected themselves to imputations of passion and spleen

Fayette's estate ; and in the following years most of his relations who remained in France suffered death for his crime. The municipality of Sedan were at first pardoned, and even reinstated ; but in the year 1794 they were all guillotined *en masse*.

prejudicial



prejudicial to their characters and interests \*. Thus Cn. VII.  
1792. the new government of France, while it hated and persecuted La Fayette, derived advantage from the presumption that he was oppressed by the opposing powers.

Dumouriez received the command which La Fayette had abdicated, but found himself in a situation of infinite difficulty : his whole force was but seventeen thousand men, who were unused to and prejudiced against him, ill posted, and disheartened with intelligence that the country was already invaded by an army eighty thousand strong. Luckner was appointed generalissimo, but ordered to remain at Châlons for the purpose of giving advice : so that no exertion of his could impede the projects of Dumouriez. The invaders advanced in two columns, one of which invested Thionville ; but as they were unprovided with artillery to form a siege, could not make an impression : six thousand men from the other column, under General Clerfaye, laid siege to Longwy, one of the keys of France, which, though garrisoned by upwards of two thousand six hundred men, and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and abundantly provided with ammunition and stores, capitulated, 23d Aug. after a short bombardment, and before a practicable breach was made in the walls. Verdun, which

\* See Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. par Segur, vol. II. p. 272.

CH. VII. was next attacked, did not make a more effectual  
 1792. resistance: the magistrates and the people  
 2d Sep. compelled Beaurepaire, the commanding officer, to surrender; and he, unable to sur-  
 vive the disgrace, terminated his existence with a pistol. The  
 combined commanders now conceiving that they had  
 sufficient reason to believe in the flattering anticipa-  
 tions of the emigrants, dispensed with the usual rules  
 of war, and leaving on their flanks and behind them  
 many fortified places, advanced into Champagne,  
 within a short distance of Chalons, and intended pro-  
 ceeding to Paris. Dumouriez, after holding a council  
 of war, made his utmost exertions to defend the  
 passes of the forest of Argonne, through which the  
 allies must necessarily proceed, or make a consider-  
 able circuit through bad roads, and without a cer-  
 tainty of obtaining supplies, which in their hasty pro-  
 gress they had not taken care to secure. Having  
 gained the desired position by a bold and rapid march,  
 the French general strengthened it with his utmost  
 skill; and ordering all subordinate commanders to  
 join him, wrote also to the assembly for reinforce-  
 ments; but his letters betrayed not the inquietude of  
 his mind, they breathed only the language of confi-  
 dence, resolution, and brilliant promises\*.

\* See Life of Dumouriez, vol. III.; Regne de Frederic-Guil-  
 laume II. vol. II. p. 277.; Major Money's Narrative; Moore's  
 Journal; and the various histories.

It was not, however, in the power of letters, how-  
 ever sanguine, to tranquillise the alarms of the people  
 of Paris, who with grief and consternation beheld  
 themselves in the centre of crime, and surrounded  
 with danger. Every foreign nation seemed to frown  
 on the late atrocious acts; and far from enjoying any  
 of the benefits which they were taught to hope from  
 the dethronement of the king, they saw their city a  
 prison by the constant closure of the *barriers*; while  
 the insolence and brutality of the Marseillois and the  
 mob, and the continual domiciliary visits, gave it the  
 appearance of a den of thieves.

The court of Great Britain wrote to  
 lord Gower, the ambassador at Paris, ex-  
 pressing the king's deep affliction at the extent  
 and deplorable consequences of the late disturb-  
 ances, on account of his personal attachment to  
 their most christian majesties, and his earnest de-  
 sire for the tranquillity and prosperity of a king-  
 dom with which he was on the terms of friend-  
 ship. As the exercise of the executive power had  
 been withdrawn from Louis XVI. lord Gower was  
 directed to leave Paris, as his credentials could be no  
 longer valid; and as that step appeared most con-  
 formable to the neutrality hitherto observed. But in  
 all conversations he was to declare that his majesty  
 intended to observe the principles of neutrality in  
 every thing regarding the internal government of  
 France; nor did he conceive that he departed from  
 that

CH. VII.  
 1792.

17th  
 August.



CH. VII. that principle in manifesting by every means in his  
 1792. power his solicitude for the personal safety of their most christian majesties and their family; hoping they would be preserved from every act of violence; the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout Europe\*.

In answering this note, Le Brun, the new minister for foreign affairs, expressed polite regret at the resolution to remove the ambassador; but that feeling was abated by the renewed assurance of neutrality, which was the result of an intention wisely considered and formally expressed by his Britannic majesty, not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France. The minister then expatiated on the efforts of the English nation in favour of liberty, and the unalienable sovereignty of the people; and declared that the French nation had good grounds to hope the British cabinet would not, at this decisive moment, depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality, which it had hitherto manifested †.

In this note Le Brun returned no answer to the anxious sentiments expressed by George III. for the royal family of France: the state of that unfortunate family was indeed hourly rendered so much more mi-

\* See this paper in Rivington's Annual Register for 1792; part II. p. \*326.

† See on the subject of this correspondence Marsh's History of the Politics, &c. chap. ix.; Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 335.

ferable by the malignant invention of inveterate per-  
 secution, that no answer could be considered a gua-  
 ranty for future events; nor could any explanations  
 mitigate the horror occasioned by every day's trans-  
 actions. The guilt of the king was trumpeted forth  
 in daily declamations; and propositions were made for  
 putting him to death, or at least for separating him  
 from his family, with whom he was accused of con-  
 spirating to forward the invasion, and ruin France.  
 The destruction of royalty throughout the universe  
 was avowed as a principle directly proceeding from  
 the doctrine of the rights of man: the regi-  
 cides of all times and nations, from Brutus to  
 Ankaarstrom, were ranked among the benefactors and  
 saviours of mankind; and even in the national assembly,  
 Jean de Brie moved for organising a body of twelve  
 hundred volunteers to assassinate every king at war with  
 France, and all their generals; but it was postponed  
 under an apprehension that similar measures might be  
 pursued against the generals and deputies of France.

Every encouragement was afforded to those subjects  
 of foreign powers who were known to be in a state of  
 hostility with the government of their own country;  
 in this particular England was not spared; as  
 among others, Thomas Pain, then under  
 prosecution for seditious libels, received by a decree,  
 in which he was joined with Hamilton Rowan, Ana-  
 charsis Clootz, and several other persons of the same  
 description, the rank and title of French citizen.

The

CH. VII.  
1792.

26th.  
August.

24th.

CH. VII. The decree avowed that this honour was a reward to  
 1792. these persons for having consecrated their arms and vigils to the purpose of defending the cause of the people against the despotism of kings; and madame Roland, perfectly versed in the secrets of the ministry, confesses that Pain was included on account of his writings which had been useful in the American revolution, and might have contributed to produce one in England\*.

Probabilities of giving offence, or engaging in contests with neutral nations, were little regarded in comparison with the present danger which appeared to threaten from the success of the invaders. The surrender of Longwy spread general consternation; hasty decrees were passed for enrolling volunteers, digging a ditch for the defence of Paris, arming the faithful, and disarming the suspected. Kersaint calculated that in a fortnight the king of Prussia would sup at the Tuilleries; and Roland, in council, recommended removing the government, the assembly, and the king, to the other side of the Loire; but Danton overruled the proposition, declaring that he would rather reduce Paris to ashes, and if it were persevered in, he would appeal to the people against his coadjutors†.

Danton had indeed another harvest to reap by remaining in Paris. Needy himself, and surrounded by

\* See Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 135.

† History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 20.



rapacious adherents, he found small satisfaction in the power with which he was invested, and which might not be permanent; and from the 10th of August, formed plans of numerous imprisonments, and a massacre, which should enrich him, and all his dependents. The decrees of the assembly for imprisoning priests and suspected characters, for domiciliary visits, and for establishing a revolutionary tribunal, which tried criminals for treason against the nation, were all favourable to this new conspiracy, the parties to which loaded themselves with the spoils of such as could compound by means of gold for their safety; and glutted their vengeance, or forwarded their political projects, by the sacrifice of others. Many were carried to prison without the allegation of any crime but their property, talents, or loyalty. Arrests were executed in all quarters; in houses, streets, squares, gardens. The hackney-coaches, soldiers, and officers of justice, were all employed in taking persons into custody, and conveying them to prison. The priests and ex-nobles were told they would be transported to the coast of Africa. Danton obtained lists of the prisoners, and Manuel daily numbered the victims; encouraging them to collect their property by an ambiguous declaration that they would be liberated on the 2d of September.

That day was fixed for the muster of levies to meet the invaders, who, after being enrolled in the *Champ de Mars*, were to march in a body. In the

2d Sep.  
the

CH. VII. the course of the day, alarming reports were circulated,  
1792. and fatal jealousies excited. It was asserted that the Prussians, having taken Chalons, were within ten leagues of Paris; they were to be joined by an immense body in the departments, and reinforced by a party in the capital, who, as soon as the new levies had left the city, would rise, open the prisons, murder the patriots, and one tenth of the citizens, release the royal family, and reinstate the king in his pristine power. At one o'clock the cannon was fired, the tocsin sounded, the barriers shut, and the country proclaimed in danger. The citizens, panic-struck, and torpid with surprise, retired to their habitations; while a prepared band of assassins went to the various prisons, where they massacred, one by one, the priests and Swiss officers; instituting in each prison a pretended court of justice, composed of self-constituted judges, many of them foreigners, and many more who could not read. These ruffians ordered the execution of almost every person brought before them; and it was the melancholy employment of those confined, and expecting their fate, to examine the various modes of receiving the stroke of death, and calculate in which position it appeared to give least pain, or occasion the smallest struggles. The sentence of acquittal pronounced in favour of a few was drowned in the yell of the exterminators around the doors, and they too were inhumanly butchered. The terrors of some who attended as witnesses overcoming their presence

sence of mind, and were murdered amongst the other victims.

CH. VII.  
1792.

These horrible scenes continued three days, <sup>2d, 3d,</sup> and though some attempts were made in the <sup>and</sup> assembly to arrest their progress, the number <sup>4th Sep.</sup> of individuals concurring in particular parts of the transaction, prevented any general exertion. Roland made no vigorous representation, because he rejoiced at the extermination of priests and nobles; Brissot forbore exerting himself, because some personal enemies of his own were confined, and he hoped they would be numbered among the slain; Danton, when application was made to him, answered, "The devil take the prisoners; what care I for their fate!" Tallien, who was sent with two other members of the commune to stay the hands of the assassins, rather encouraged and justified, than impeded them; nor did the work of slaughter cease till the objects of vengeance no longer existed.

Amid these horrible transactions, beamed forth acts of heroic virtue on the part of the sufferers, which history cannot enumerate, but which afford some relief to those who peruse the dismal annals of the period. The priests bore their fate with such fortitude and resignation, as to bring back in a corrupt age, and atheistical nation, the genuine portrait of the primitive martyrs; many individuals exhibited heroic courage; and none acquired more admiration than Mdles. Cazotte and de Sombreuil, who rescued their



CH. VII. fathers by interposing their own persons to shield  
 1792. them from danger. On the other hand, the murderers displayed not only an unrelenting ferocity, but a sedate malignity generally acquired only by veteran practice. Faint gleams of generosity distinguished one or two from the rest; but hacking and hewing dead and living bodies with blunt instruments, tearing out entrails, drinking and smearing themselves with blood, and parading the city with heads and hearts on pikes, were the characteristic employments of these blood-thirsty savages; while the government permitted thirty thousand national guards to rest on their arms, without offering the slightest resistance.

Madame de Lamballe was one of the victims, whose fate was peculiarly commiserated. Being confined in the prison of La Force, as an abettor in the pretended conspiracy of the 10th of August, she was brought, before the tribunal established in the prison, and on refusing to take the oath of hatred to the royal family, was inhumanly murdered, and her body mangled, and exposed in a manner too indecent for description. Her head and heart, stuck on the point of a pike and a sword, were carried in barbarous procession to the Temple, for the purpose of terrifying and insulting the royal captives; the king and queen were prevented from seeing the horrid spectacle, though not from hearing the tumult and abuse of the rabble. One of the commissioners on duty announced madame de Lamballe's murder in terms so brutal that the queen  
 fainted

fainted away; and even the king, forgetting his usual patience, expressed his feelings in terms of indignation \*. CH. VII.  
1792.

It is generally avowed that these massacres were not a spontaneous act of the people, but the work of a band of assassins employed by a party, and directed by Danton: the number of persons killed in Paris is computed at nearly 8000, all unarmed, and no resistance attempted on their behalf in any quarter †.

These dreadful transactions, instead of inspiring a salutary horror, served as precedents in several of the departments: between the 4th and 16th of September, Orleans, Méaux, and Lyons, had each its separate massacre to relate; and the dismal scene closed with the state-prisoners from Orleans, who were way-laid at Versailles in their way to Paris, and being both feebly and treacherously escorted, were all put to death ‡.

The terror inspired by these events assisted the views of the faction in which Robespierre and Danton acted the most conspicuous parts, in obtaining a

\* Journal de Cléry, p. 25, et seq.

† See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. pages 259, 319, 322, and the authorities there cited: to which may be added, Réponse de Carnot au Rapport de Bailleul, p. 168; Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 351, et seq.; Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. II. p. 278; and Histoire Générale, &c. par Prud'homme, vol. IV. pp. 75 and 78, et seq.

‡ See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 263; Bertrand's Annals, vol. VII. p. 406; and Prud'homme, vol. IV. p. 165 to 207.

CH. VII. <sup>1792.</sup> return of members to the national convention suitable to their views. Already had a decided schism taken place between the ministers ; and it was believed that the murder of Roland formed part of the project of the 2d of September. The legislative assembly was terminating its sittings with infinitely more contempt than had marked the last days of its predecessor. The commune headed by Robespierre did not even use the ceremony of a respectful exterior, but sent deputations to the bar, threatening, insulting, and defying the authority of the legislative body ; and these deputations being supported by petitioners of the lowest class, always carried their point, and daily increased in audacity. The elections were conducted under the auspices of pike and bludgeon men, who beset the electors, and compelled them to vote according to their dictates. The effects of such assemblages may be calculated by the return which was made for Paris ; among whose members were Marat, Billaud Varennes, Danton, Manuel, Fabre d'Eglantine, Legendre the butcher, Robespierre and his brother, and the duke of Orleans : this worthless traitor, to render himself a fit object for popular election in such times, and for such a city, libelled his mother, declared himself the son of a coachman, renounced his family appellation, and took by appointment of the commune, what they termed, *the beautiful name of EGALITE'\**.

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 264.



Such was the total contempt of law, such the utter CH. VII.  
neglect of police in Paris, that the cry of *aristocrat* or 1792.  
*feuillant* was sufficient to devote individuals to assassination; and these cries were often raised on no better pretence than the possession of a pair of silver buckles, or the indiscreet display of a watch chain, or a few pieces of gold \*. The alarm excited by the  
invasion seemed only to augment the eager- 16th.  
ness of individuals to seize on some portion of public plunder; as a last act, the *garde meuble de la couronne*, or jewel office, was broke open and robbed; nor did the ministers escape suspicion of being parties or accessories in the theft, though they with equal vigour accused their adversaries†.

Thus in the midst of turbulence, anarchy, 20th.  
and crimes of every description, did the legislative assembly terminate its career of horrors, after a reign of one year wanting ten days. The general abstract of the effects which its existence produced to France, and the numerical statement of events which occurred in the term of its duration, are thus detailed by Prud'homme. The legislative assembly bequeathed to the nation a war with all Europe‡, and in La

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 356.

† Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. II. p. 172.

‡ In making this assertion, the author uses the cause for the effect; the principles established, and the aggressions given by the assembly, occasioned a general war; but many nations who afterwards were compelled to combine in hostilities, were yet at peace both in act and intention.

CH. VII. Vendée; the colonies in flames and jacobinised; no  
 1792. finances, though they had manufactured assignats to the amount of many millions; a revolutionary tribunal, which though it had yet done little, was subsequently productive of indiscriminate massacres\*; domiciliary visits, which were instituted to prepare for the 2d of September; organised anarchy; habitual murders sanctioned by superior authorities; and persecutions against the liberty of the press. This assembly passed 1227 laws, discovered 44 conspiracies, and during its reign there were 28 insurrections, and 8047 persons murdered†.

\* It may be proper to mention, that during the reign of the legislative assembly, the mode of executing criminals was changed from hanging to decapitation, by an instrument called *guillotine*, after its supposed inventor, though it is known to have been used in Scotland, and other countries, several centuries before. It was first employed in France on the 29th of April, 1792, on a person named Pelletier, convicted of robbery and murder. An appearance of mechanical contrivance in giving the blow of death, rendered the people eager for such exhibitions, and formed perhaps one of the means of hardening them to endure in Paris, and in the departments, the slaughter of thousands by its incessant action.

† See *Histoire Générale*, &c. vol. IV. p. 223. In the number of persons murdered, Prud'homme's statement appears short of the truth; though he owns he does not mean to include those who fell in the field: but he states the number massacred in September only at 1433, which is certainly not a fourth of the whole: but it is to be observed that Prud'homme, as writer of the journal called *Les Révolutions de Paris*, had been a defender of the assassins.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Meeting, general Character, and Power of the National Convention—Parties—Danton—Robespierre—Roland—Barbaroux—Names assumed by the Parties—First Proceedings of the Convention—The right Side foiled in two Motions—Collot d'Herbois moves the Abolition of Royalty—Which is decreed—Military Transactions—Position of Dumouriez—Impediments and Mistakes of the Allies—Distress of the Prussian Army—Interview between Prince Hohenlohe and General Duval—Dumouriez changes his Position—His Conferences with Colonel Manstein—Preparations for Battle—Sudden Retreat of the Invaders—Rapid Success of Custine—War declared against the King of Sardinia—Rapid Conquest of Savoy—Which is annexed to the French Republic—Dispute with Geneva—Adjustment—Impeachment and Flight of General Montesquieu—Conquest of Nice—Pillage of Cagliari—Dumouriez in Paris—He is insulted by Marat—Attends the Jacobin Club—Commences Operations in Flanders—Battle of Gemappe—Conquest of Flanders—Plunder of the Inhabitants—Decree for opening the Scheldt—And violating the Neutrality of Holland—Decree for encouraging and assisting Rebels in all Countries—Deputations*



*Deputations of English Jacobins kindly received—Hostilities in the Convention—Roland denounces the Massacres of September—Rebecqui and others attack Marat—Louvet's Attack on Robespierre—Roland and many Members of the right Side expelled the Jacobin Club—Paper War—Robespierre's Superiority.*

CH. VIII.

1792.

IF want of respectability in the members of the legislative assembly was calculated to excite suspicion and alarm respecting its operations, the national convention was much more formed to impart those sentiments. The worst portion of the late legislature was alone returned, and the most abandoned characters of the first assembly were admitted to complete the task of regicide and social disorganisation, which they had before been so reluctantly restrained from accomplishing. Thus Robespierre, Petion, Syeyes, and the profligate Egalité, were worthily associated with Brissot, Condorcet, Chabot, and their herd; while the ranks were filled up with a monstrous medley, the very sweepings of infamy and crime, from all corners of France, and even from foreign nations; the assassins of September, men who were known to live by libels, and men whose means of living were utterly unknown. In this list of vice and baseness the names of Marat, Cloutz, Thomas Pain, Legendre, Drouet, and Collot d'Herbois, stood conspicuously prominent. It would, however, be too much to affirm, that even in this degraded assembly there was

no

no portion of talent ; on the contrary, many members Ch. VIII.  
1792 displayed considerable eloquence, some, great powers of reasoning, and others, a wonderful fertility in expedients ; but the general character of the convention could not be disguised, nor could the studied periods and pointed sarcasms of Robespierre, the ardent, though irregular, eloquence of Danton, the plausible sophistry of Barrere, or the metaphysical subtlety of Syeyes and Condorcet, compensate for the torrents of vulgar ribaldry and outrageous abuse which flowed from the speakers in almost every debate.

The other two legislatures had at their meeting been fettered by some restrictions which, however they might disregard, they could not disavow ; the constituent assembly by instructions from the bailiwicks, the legislative, by the constitution which their predecessors established, and which they swore to maintain. But the convention was restrained by no instructions ; bound by no ties ; it was convened for the purpose of determining on such a mode of government as should give liberty and equality to all the people in France : thus wealth, power, life, and property, were laid at the feet of seven hundred and forty-five men, elected by, and for the most part composed of, the dregs of the people ; their decrees once pronounced, were without appeal ; injuries done by them without redress ; and error once sanctioned by their edict was invested with the characteristics of right, and set even above complaint.

In

CH. VIII. In this, as in the former legislature, two parties  
 1792. prevailed, but their hostility was more acrimonious and deadly, because each knew the nature of its opponent, each knew that to offend and despair of reconciliation, to resist and remain for ever subjected to persecution, were terms synonymous. Each knew the more fatal secret that friendship with the opposing faction was but a compact for advantage, in which fidelity was not to be expected, but that a calm systematic mode of treachery, or an open exertion of sanguinary violence, would form the only distinction in the manner of dispatching an incommodious adherent. The triumph of the commune over the legislative assembly was hardly borne by Brissot, and the leaders of that faction; they were indignant at beholding Robespierre, whom they had hitherto considered as a sort of political mendicant, gathering up with humble industry the scraps of information which fell from them in discussion, now elevating himself far above their level in the public favour, and already indicated by Marat, and other writers of the same class, as the only pre-eminently honest man in France, and even as a fit person to govern the whole country as dictator.

Danton was known to be attached to Robespierre, and to despise the uxorious pedant Roland, whom his friends affected to place at the head of administration, and to extol for immaculate virtue and consummate wisdom. Danton's talents were more striking and popular, his resources far greater, and his energy beyond



beyond all comparison superior to those of Robespierre. He could not boast of a good moral character, nor claim the honours of disinterestedness, and therefore shrunk behind the proposed dictator, whom no man could accuse of intemperance, nor suspected of corruption.

CH. VIII.  
1792.

Thus were Roland and Robespierre made ostensible heads of a party ; but in personal respects the senator was far superior to the minister. Robespierre was not at that time characterised by any of the ferocities which have since rendered his name so deservedly odious ; he had even been reproached with feeble and abject humanity when in the constituent assembly he opposed the decree for proclaiming martial law ; and with cowardice, for not taking a more active share in the late insurrections ; his talents were decried as below mediocrity, and his ambition deprecated as above reason. But Robespierre's adversaries had not done justice to his powers of improvement : perseverance had purified his style from many blemishes ; study and composition had given firmness, fluency, and even beauty, to his periods : he was not now to hold an inferior rank in an assembly where Mirabeau, Maury, Cazales, and Lally Tollendal, could look down on him with lofty superiority ; but after acquiring unlimited ascendancy and confidence among the people of Paris, whom he always abjectly flattered, and in the jacobin club, he was to prosecute his advantages in a legislature little differing from that club,

and

CH. VIII. and composed of its most fiery materials. Whatever  
 1792. Robespierre possessed was known to be his own; he acknowledged no superior for whose advancement he laboured, no private adviser whose dictates he was to repeat; and office was not his aim, for in all the contentions of the late months he had never stretched forth a finger to touch the tempting spoils which lay at his feet.

Roland, on the contrary, was not supposed to think for himself, but to speak the thoughts of Brissot, Condorcet, and that junto, put into flowing periods, and adorned with elegant antitheses, by his wife. He was not supposed disinterested, for the constant clamours which had pursued the king from the moment of dismissing Roland, till his fall from the throne, could only be received as evidence of eagerness for power, and an indifference to the means by which it might be obtained. Roland was also suspected, whether justly or not, of being not quite alien to the contrivance of the massacres in the prisons, though he and all his associates afterwards declaimed against them with so much violence; and the robbery of the *garde meuble* was in more than one publication, and in many speeches, supposed to have enriched his adherents, and to have taken place by his connivance\*.

A young man from Caen, who came to Paris with

\* History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, pages 28, 42, 49.

one of the battalions of Marseillois, who was by some CH. VIII.  
1792. accused of participating in the crimes of Jourdan *le coupe tête*\*, and who was remarkable for the beauty of his person, contributed also to the slanders which were generally spread for the purpose of degrading the Rolandist faction. His name was Barbaroux; and it was insinuated that his intimacy with madame Roland was more close than the honour of the old husband should have sanctioned†. It is not difficult to suppose that some parts of the lady's conduct gave rise to these suggestions, since even in her works she speaks of Barbaroux with infinitely more warmth than became their respective situations‡. But whether these scandalous anecdotes were well or ill founded, they furnished themes of abuse, and were often revived with success in the contest for power between these two parties.

The adherents of Roland were very unequally matched with those of Robespierre. On the side of the minister, now the *côté droit*, or right side, were Brissot, Condorcet, Petion, Manuel, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and many other names who had lately risen to celebrity in the first rank; with Barbaroux, Kerfaint, Louvet, and many others of the same class, in the second. On the side of Robespierre were seen, in the foremost line, Danton, Couthon,

\* See *Conjuration d'Orleans*, vol. III. p. 164.

† *Idem*, pages 42, 48.

‡ *Œuvres de Madame Roland*, vol. II. p. 253.



CH. VIII. St. Just, Camille Desmoulins, and a few more, whose  
 1792. characters as legislators were not established; and equal with them in activity and audacity, though in every other respect inferior, Chabot, Clootz, Collot d'Herbois, and Marat, men whom Robespierre used with caution, mingling himself as little with them as possible, and often even disclaiming them entirely. A large body not inconsiderable in talent or influence kept, for a time, cautiously aloof from the clash of parties, hoping by accurate observation to preserve themselves from danger, and rise with the victors. Barrere and Syeyes were among the chiefs of this division.

But if the party of Robespierre appeared weakest in the hall of the convention, it enjoyed infinite advantages out of doors; the members of the commune were devoted to him, the club of cordeliers sworn adherents to the lowest members of his faction, the jacobins were under his absolute dominion, and the general state of Paris, convulsed as it was with crime, deluged with blood, and subdued by violence, was favourable to the views of this party, which expected to rule by crimes, blood, and violence. The influence of Roland's faction lay principally in the departments, and as many of his adherents were deputies from the Gironde, a department which comprises part of the ancient province of Gascony, the denomination of Girondins, or Girondists, was given to them as a sarcasm on that disposition to magnificent talking,  
 unaccompanied

unaccompanied with commensurate performance, for CH. VIII.  
1792.  
which they as well as the Gascons were celebrated.

This party was denominated the *right side*, the Brissotines, the Rolandists, or the Girondists; the other, *left side*, and from their occupying the highest seats in the hall, the Mountain, but they never assumed an appellative derived from any leader.

The national convention opened its sittings 21st  
on the day which closed those of the legislative Sep.  
assembly. Two great objects of morality and religion had been removed from the consideration of the new legislature, by decrees for transporting the nonjuring priests, and for permitting divorces to take place at the requisition of either husband or wife. The first discussions plainly indicated what would be the course and means pursued by each of the opposing factions. Petion, who waved the situation of mayor, to become a member of the convention, was chosen president; and Manuel proposed to decorate him with the insignia of law and power, to give him a lodging in the Tuilleries, and to honour him whenever he opened the sitting by a general rising of the assembly. Chabot opposed the motion as derogatory to liberty and equality; "the legislature and its president," he said, "should seek no other dignity than that of blending themselves with the *sans-culottes*, who formed the majority of the nation:" this argument could not fail of producing the desired effect: the motion was negatived.

Having

CH. VIII. Having failed in this first attempt, the right side  
 1792. proposed an oath of hatred to royalty, dictatorship, triumvirate, or any other species of individual power. This motion alluded to the intimations which had been given in print, that Robespierre ought to be dictator ; and being founded on the principles of liberty and equality, promised to be easily received : but it was overruled by a remark that, from the numerous oaths that had been made and broken during the last four years, no new one could quiet the apprehensions of the people.

Collot d'Herbois seeing the opposing party twice foiled, hastily arose, and, without preface or preparation, moved, " that royalty should be abolished in France." The right side, though angry that the popularity of such a proposition should be wrested from them, did not venture to oppose the motion ; a hint was given that it would be decent to avoid the imputation of rashness by discussing the question : but Gregoire resisted delay by a furious philippic against royalty ; and the original motion was decreed without a dissentient voice, amid shouts of *Vive la Nation !* Thus on the proposition of a strolling player, in an assembly of three hundred and seventy-one obscure individuals (for no more had yet verified their powers), was the most ancient monarchy in Europe overthrown ; and the heir of sixty-five kings formally deposed, without a single voice being raised, or a single sword unsheathed, in his behalf. This general acquiescence



effluence in a project which none of the revolutionists CH. VIII.  
 had originally entertained, justified the observation of 1792.  
 Robespierre that the republic slipped in by stealth  
 among the contending factions\*.

The invading armies, whose presence might have been supposed to check and whose success would have invalidated these proceedings, were no longer regarded with terror by the French. After the capture of Verdun jacobin commissioners, deputed by the commune of Paris, exercised throughout the departments the rights of the executive power, giving orders for means of defence, removing municipal officers who appeared lukewarm, and even directing the operations of Luckner, and such other generals as they found sufficiently timorous to submit. Dumouriez, at the head of an army not respectable either for numbers or discipline, had formed his camp at Grandpré, and stationed his troops among the defiles of the forest of Argonne, intersected by mountains, rivers, streams, pools, and marshes, and presenting only five passes†, which he had taken great pains to secure. His army of seventeen thousand men was at first scattered over various posts, extending nearly thirty miles, so that had the invaders known his weakness, they could not have failed of routing him

\* La République se glissa furtivement parmi les diverses factions.  
 Conjuraton d'Orléans, vol. III. p. 217.

† Called la Croix-aux-bois, Grandpré, les Islettes, le Chêne populeux, and la Chalade.

CH. VIII. in a general attack. Discontent prevailed among the  
 1792. officers as well as the privates; many blamed Dumouriez as the author of the war, and still more censured his system of defence.

In time, however, his position began to be more formidable: his troops by frequent skirmishes learnt the value of discipline, acquired confidence in themselves, and were taught by some successful manœuvres, and victorious conflicts, not to over-rate the powers of their opponents. Their numbers were daily augmented by the junction of various other armies under Dillon, Kellermann, and Beurnonville, detachments from the army of Luckner, and recruits from Paris, which finally swelled his ranks to sixty-seven thousand men.

The duke of Brunswick having neglected to occupy the heights of Biesme, they were seized by Dillon, and proved the means of obliging the king of Prussia to make a circuit of more than fifty miles, which, from the state of the weather and the roads, he could not perform in less than eight days. When he arrived in Champagne after passing the straits of Argonne, he found himself in a barren country, without provisions, and his troops worn with fatigue, and reduced by a contagious disorder, arising from a want of bread, which obliged them to eat unripe grapes. Frederick-William, contrary to the advice of the duke of Brunswick, had commenced the campaign without making due provisions, relying with too sanguine confidence

on a general insurrection of the people; and even when his first advances in France had proved the futility of these expectations, he persevered in his plan of penetrating rapidly towards Paris. CH. VIII.  
1792.

After several skirmishes, maintained with alternate success, the prince de Hohenlohe demanded an interview with Dumouriez, who declined attending himself, but deputed general Duval. The intention of the Prussian general in requiring a conference is not known; as the only statement given imports that nothing more than compliments passed; it appears, however, that the invaders were reduced to great distress, having consumed all the provisions found in Longwy and Verdun, exhausted the poor country in which they were posted, and which had before been considerably drained by the French; and being now obliged to draw all their supplies from Luxembourg and the electorate of Treves, while the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and even Metz, frequently intercepted the convoys.

Duval artfully impressed on the mind of the prince, a persuasion that Dumouriez was resolved to maintain his present position; but that general had already resolved on, and in the night executed, a judicious retreat to St. Meneshould. A division of the army, consisting of ten thousand, under general Chazot, was, however, on the next day panic-struck at the appearance of fifteen hundred Prussians, and fled across the main column; winged with fear,



CH. VIII. they proceeded thirty or forty leagues, and spread  
 1792. through Rhetel, Rheims, Châlons, Vitry, and even to Paris, the report of treason, and the annihilation of the army. This evil was easily repaired; but it confirmed Dumouriez in his resolution, not to hazard engagements, but to harass the invaders, straiten their quarters, and depend on want and an inclement season to effect their destruction.

This event was rapidly accomplishing, and the chiefs of the combined troops, after rejecting several propositions for improving their situation, were already preparing a retreat, when the king of Prussia endeavoured to open a secret negotiation with Dumouriez.

22d. Several interviews were effected between him and colonel Manstein, aid-de-camp to Frederick-William, the precise results of which are not known; but an arrangement was made for suspending the useless firing which had hitherto taken place in front of the camps, and thus Dumouriez gained an opportunity of changing his position so as to annoy the Prussians in their retreat, which he justly considered inevitable.

24th. In a succeeding interview colonel Manstein declared the king of Prussia had no intention to interfere with the constitution or government of France, but would gladly accede to peace on certain terms, the first of which was the liberation of Louis XVI. from prison, and his reinstatement in the authority which he possessed before the 10th of August. In  
 answer,

answer, Dumouriez shewed the precipitate decree of the convention, professing sorrow that matters were come to such an extremity, especially as there was no remedy. He remonstrated, however, at considerable length, on the impolicy of the king of Prussia in continuing hostilities; and it is even asserted that a negotiation was begun, by which the retreat of the Prussian army was facilitated. A cartel for the exchange of prisoners was established, but Dumouriez positively refused to include the emigrants in the arrangement; he even transmitted to Servan a book of orders belonging to that corps which had fallen into his hands, and thus laid the foundation of a list of emigrants by which so many families were plundered and oppressed, and in which he himself was afterwards included.

At a council of war held by the invaders, the propriety of a general engagement was discussed. General Kalreuth, the duke of Brunswick, and the other Prussian generals, opposed it, urging the bad condition of the cavalry, the necessity of extensive movements, the difficulty of subsistence, and the imprudence of exposing their army, weakened as it was by disease, to an issue so uncertain. Marshals de Broglie and de Castries, and general Clerfaye, argued, on the other side, the great importance of achieving something for relief of Louis XVI. and the queen. They had no doubt of success in a battle, and they might then proceed to Chalons, where they would find immense supplies, and thus the army would no longer be weakened

CH. VIII.

1792.

CH. VIII. weakened by numerous detachments to maintain posts  
 1792. which would then be useless. The king of Prussia  
 appeared convinced by these reasons; and it was even  
 said that a day was fixed for the conflict: the duke  
 of Brunswick sent his manifesto to Dumou-  
 29th. riez, who declared the truce terminated; but  
 just as the troops were expecting to be led to battle,  
 and the army of the French princes exulted in the  
 hope of shedding their blood for the honour of their  
 sovereign, orders were issued for a retreat. The emi-  
 grants retired in good order to Stenay, notwithstand-  
 ing the dispositions made by Dumouriez to harass their  
 rear; and the Prussians, rather escorted than pursued  
 by the French army, reached the frontier without any  
 loss, but what arose from illness, bad roads, and  
 treacherous guides, who occasioned the pillage of  
 some waggons. The places which had been captured  
 were retaken without resistance, and the blockade of  
 18th Oct. Thionville was raised, as well as the siege of  
 Lille, which had been actively prosecuted by  
 the duke of Saxe Teschen. This ineffectual campaign,  
 and disgraceful retreat, occasioned infinite speculation;  
 and numerous conjectures have been advanced in ac-  
 counting for the event: the obscurity which surrounds  
 it is, however, at present impenetrable, and no ad-  
 vantage can be derived from detailing the numerous  
 fictions published on the occasion \*.

Mean-

\* The account of this campaign is derived from the Life of Du-  
 mouriez, vol. III.; Major Money's History of the Campaign; Regne  
 de



Meanwhile general Custine, who had been detached CH. VIII.  
 from the army of Alsace under Biron, with 22d Sept. 1792.  
 twenty-two thousand men for the purpose to  
 of making a diversion, took, with surprising 21st Oct.  
 rapidity, Spire, Worms, and Mentz. He was then  
 advised to attack Coblenz and Treves, and make  
 himself master of the Moselle, but he preferred the  
 more brilliant exploit of crossing the Rhine, 23d Oct.  
 which he effected with success, and seized  
 Frankfort; levying at every place enormous con-  
 tributions. After some time, however, he received  
 a considerable check; the Prussians recaptured 2d Dec.  
 Frankfort, with its garrison of thirteen hundred  
 men, and after a long and obstinate engagement with  
 his main army, drove them for refuge into the woods.  
 Custine afterwards shut himself up in Mentz, the  
 recovery of which was an important object to  
 the king of Prussia; a regular siege was there- 21st Dec.  
 fore formed, and the place summoned, but no action  
 of importance distinguished the remainder of the  
 campaign.

The national assembly, before its dissolution, with-  
 out the forms of negotiation or declaration, decreed  
 a war against the king of Sardinia; and gene- 16th—20th  
 ral Montesquieu marched immediately into Sept.  
 Savoy, where the people having already been prepared

de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. II. p. 287, et seq.; Bertrand's Annals,  
 vol. VII. p. 429, et seq.; and Moore's Journal, vol. II. p. 64, et seq.

for

CH. VIII. for the reception of French principles, he performed  
 1792. without difficulty those achievements which made him  
 consider his march as a triumph. Chambery received  
 him with open arms, and the whole province of  
 Savoy yielded peaceably to his dominion ; a national  
 convention was called, which, in imitation of that at  
 Paris, decreed that the king had forfeited his right to  
 govern, and that the lands of the church were public  
 property.

The government of France celebrated the acqui-  
 sition of Savoy by a civic fête, and annexed it  
 14th Oct. to the republic by a decree denominating  
 it the department of Mont-blanc, and ranking it as  
 29th Nov. an eighty-fourth member of the territorial  
 body.

Before this event was completed, general Mon-  
 tesquieu, the efficient cause of it, had found it necessary  
 to withdraw himself from the service of the republic.  
 The government of Geneva, alarmed at the invasion  
 of Savoy, demanded from the other Swiss cantons  
 a garrison of sixteen hundred men, according to  
 ancient compacts. A French party, on the contrary,  
 urged the propriety of placing Geneva under the  
 protection of France. The admission of a Swiss garrison  
 furnished the national convention with a pretext to  
 quarrel, and Montesquieu appeared before Geneva.  
 The magistrates agreed to dismiss the Swiss, on con-  
 dition that the French troops should also withdraw ;  
 but this reasonable compromise gave great offence at  
 Paris.

Paris. A party, headed by Danton, Tallien, and Chabot, had before obtained a decree of accusation against Montesquieu, which his successes in Savoy obliged them to annul; but they now returned to the charge, accusing him of speculation and jobbing in the finances, and compromising the dignity of France in his negotiations. Commissioners were appointed to arrest him, but he judiciously avoided their fury by sending in his resignation, and absconding from his army; not without a suspicion of carrying off a considerable sum as an indemnity for the property he must leave in Paris\*.

Another portion of the king of Sardinia's dominions was invaded by general Anselm, who crossing the Var took possession of the city and whole county of Nice; while admiral Trogoff failed to support him with nine ships of the line. The French troops, for their unbridled excesses, were soon held in abhorrence by the people; and the admiral completed their detestation by bombarding, storming, and plundering the town of Cagliari, in revenge for a skirmish in which seven of his people were killed. He alleged in his justification that the Piedmontese had fired on a flag of truce, but the statement is extremely doubtful.

However flattering these successes might be to the military genius of the French nation, they were of

\* See Bertrand's Annals, vol. VIII. p. 47.; Dictionnaire des Hommes marquans, art. Montesquieu.



CH. VIII. { small estimation in the scale of general events compared  
 1792. with the triumphs which for a time attended the arms of Dumouriez. When that general had driven the invaders from the territory of the republic, he  
 12th Oct. hastened to Paris for the purpose of concerting a winter campaign in Flanders, and perhaps in the natural and not illaudible hope of receiving from the grateful inhabitants of the capital the applauses due to his valour and success. He had, however, an early opportunity of discerning the jealous, gloomy, and ungrateful disposition of a republican government. He was attended to the convention by an immense concourse of people, but the president suffered him to wait an hour in the anti-chamber before he was admitted to pay his compliments at the bar. When introduced he boasted in the highest terms of the valour and good qualities of his troops, not forgetting to compliment the legislature on the constitution they were about to frame for their country. Already, he said, was liberty triumphant in every direction; guided by philosophy it would soon overspread the universe; and after having crushed despotism, and enlightened the people, seat itself on all thrones\*.

The general's stay in Paris was limited to four days; but in that short period he experienced the force and activity of cabal, and must have learnt to tremble for his own safety. It was soon perceived that, contrary

\* Debates ; Moore's Journal, vol. II. p. 112.

to reason, and all the dictates of honourable consistency, he attached himself to Roland, Servan, and Claviere, and even endeavoured to promote a reconciliation between them and Danton. This attachment roused the fury of Marat, the declared patron of some soldiers punished by Dumouriez for the murder of four Prussian deserters, who, under the promises held out by the decree of the legislative assembly, had joined the French army at Rhetel. This miserable incendiary, after inserting in his journal several calumnious paragraphs against the general, attacked him in public with gross abuse, and denounced him at the jacobin club. These efforts were not for the present attended with the desired consequences, as Dumouriez was highly esteemed, and the little deputy generally contemned; but they were the seeds of more important events. The general did not forget, however, to pay his homage at the shrine of the jacobins: he was greeted by Danton, the president, with a characteristic harangue, prognosticating that under his direction the republican pike should everywhere break the regal sceptre, and thrones should vanish before the *red cap* with which he was *honoured* by that society\*. But although Collot d'Herbois echoed the civilities of the president in a most ridiculous speech, the connection of Dumouriez with the

CH. VIII.

1792.

\* Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. I. p. 51; Moore's Journal, vol. II. p. 158.

CH. VIII. ministry raised him many enemies among the jacobins ;  
 1792. and Marat was not considered a mere calumniator, when he advanced that the general was ambitious of conquering Flanders only with a view to make himself duke of Brabant.

24th Oct. On his arrival at Valenciennes Dumouriez learnt that Servan was no longer minister at war, having been succeeded by Pache. He found the troops in want of every necessary, and was without money to pay them ; yet he commenced a brilliant campaign, which, as he observes, was calculated like a game of chess, in consequence of his great superiority

28th. in numbers and artillery. He issued a false and delusive proclamation to the Belgians (as it was the fashion to call the people of Flanders), offering assistance which was not designed, and promising forbearance which could not be maintained ; and then, after some delays, owing to disputes with general Labourdonnaye and want of supplies, took

3d Nov. the field. In his first operation the Belgic infantry, having gained an advantage over the Austrians at the village of Thulin, pursued their success too far, and were surrounded near the mill of Bouffu, where they sustained considerable loss, and were with great difficulty rescued by the regiment of Chamborant.

6th. In this affair, however, the Austrians owed their success solely to skill, as their numbers were utterly inadequate to a contest with the enemy.

Dumouriez,



Dumouriez, justly relying on his superiority in this respect, early in the morning, on the 6th of November, attacked them in their strong situation at Gemappe. Every thing had been done which art could effect, to render this well-chosen position impregnable; and every thing was achieved which valour disproportionately matched could perform, to maintain it with nineteen thousand men, against forty thousand, supported by an unrivalled park of artillery, who advanced with a total disregard of life, and were taught that no consideration of that kind ought to interfere with the hope of conquest. Several times, however, were the different columns of this formidable body shaken, and thrown into confusion, by the steady valour of the Austrians; even their confusion by collecting their overwhelming numbers ensured their victory. Dumouriez in person was obliged to rally one party; Baptiste Renard, his valet de chambre, brought seven squadrons into action, who had been thrown into confusion; and young Egalité, whom birth entitled to be called duke of Chartres, led into action a mass of fugitives, whom, with sarcastic gaiety, he called the column of Gemappe. The statement of the general himself, that every French corps was engaged hand to hand with the sabre or fixed bayonet, is highly creditable to the valour of the Austrians, considering that the numbers were more than two to one, and that before such a mode of engagement could take place, the greatest difficulties of situation must

CH. VIII.  
1793.

CH. VIII. must have been surmounted. The victory was in  
 1792. favour of the French, who lost in the encounter; according to their own account, seven hundred killed and thirteen hundred wounded; and the Imperialists about four thousand, with thirteen pieces of cannon. There is, however, abundant reason for believing that this statement is incorrect, and that the slaughter of the French was much greater than was represented\*.

7th Nov. This unexpected triumph of undisciplined valour over methodical tactics, decided the fate of Flanders: Mons opened its gates to the victorious general; Tournay, Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, surrendered to Labourdonnaye and Miranda; and after a slight skirmish at the village of Anderlecht,

14th. Dumouriez entered Brussels amid the acclamations of the populace.

Having issued orders for the siege of Antwerp, Dumouriez left Brussels, and encamped at Cortenbergue, intending to establish manufactories of arms

19th and 22d. at Mechlin. The Austrians were posted

on the heights of Cumplich, where he attacked them, and after a long and obstinate conflict encamped in the position they had occupied, establishing his head-quarters at Tirlemont, from which place

28th. the battle takes its name. Four days afterwards

the general encamped at St. Tron: he came up with the Imperialists, who were making a very fine

\* See Life of Dumouriez, vol. VI. chap. v.

retreat, and, after a smart partial engagement near CH. VIII.  
 Varoux, entered the city of Liege. Miranda 2d Dec.  
 having taken Antwerp, and Namur having 1792.  
 surrendered to Valence, all the Low-countries, except the duchy of Luxembourg and the little town of Heure, were conquered in a month. Dumouriez was desirous to take Maestricht, but being forbidden by the ministers, finished the campaign by the capture of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he entered 8th.  
 after a vigorous opposition from the Imperialists, and, being in the utmost distress for provisions, established there his winter-quarters.

During the progress of the campaign the French plundered with the most profligate rapacity. The first proclamation was disregarded, and no distinction made between the clergy and laity; the churches and the banks were equally obliged to contribute, and the goods in warehouses were no more sacred than the cattle in the fields. Sometimes the pretence was a loan, at others a contribution; the soldiers were furnished with assignats, which they forced the shopkeepers to take at par, and even to give change in money: the jacobin commissioners enriched themselves without restraint; and Dumouriez is charged with having gratified his avarice by an enormous booty\*.

Elated with these successes, the national convention

\* For the particulars of this campaign, see the Life of Dumouriez, vol. III.



CH. VIII. disclosed, without reserve, their views of aggrandisement, and schemes of disorganisation. Belgium was not yet openly proclaimed a part of the French republic, but it was declared a separate independent state; and its position rendered the event of its junction with France absolutely certain. The neutrality of Holland was treated with the utmost contempt; the opening of the Scheldt, the navigation of which was by several treaties reserved to the Dutch, was decreed by the convention with general acclamation; and a French squadron entering that river, greatly facilitated the capture of Antwerp. The Dutch government protested, in vain, against these proceedings; the French even carrying their disregard of all customs of civilised nations to the extent of directing their generals to attack the Austrians on the Dutch territory, should they take refuge there.

16th and  
21st Nov. In the prospect of accomplishing their views of a junction with Flanders, they declared, on the motion of Lareveilliere Lepaux, that the French nation would grant fraternity and aid to every people *willing* to recover their liberty, and ordered their generals to give assistance to all such people, and defend those who might have been oppressed in the cause of liberty. This general proclamation in favour of rebellion (which Brissot afterwards termed an absurd and impolitic measure, calculated to excite just alarms in all foreign cabinets) was passed

passed by acclamation, and ordered to be translated CH. VIII.  
 into all languages. In conformity to the spirit of this 1792.  
 decree, every encouragement was afforded to the discontented in all parts of Europe, and the correspondence of the jacobins extended on every side their pernicious principle, that it was the duty of the governed to rebel against their governors.

England was particularly exposed to these machinations, the effect of which was favoured by the free constitution and liberal policy of the kingdom. Agents of France were disseminated in all parts; and the idle, the needy, the speculative, and the wicked, already enjoyed in anticipation the moment when they might revel, and plunder, and legislate, and murder, on the French model. The refuse of the country formed clubs and associations on the jacobin system, corresponded with a committee of English and Irish in Paris, sent deputations to the bar of the national convention, proposing an alliance, *not of crowns, but of people*, and which should be negotiated, after some *useful changes* similar to those of France, by a *national convention of England*. These deputations were always received with honour, and their speeches re-echoed with sentiments of encouragement and invitations to perseverance, accompanied with assurances that the day was already come, when *all* thrones should be overthrown, and *all* people free. Such were the returns made by the convention of France, to a government which had conferred on

VOL. I. X them

CH. VIII. them important favours, and whose conduct was acknowledged by the minister for foreign affairs, in his note to lord Gower, to be founded on justice, moderation, and impartiality\*.

1792.

The desire to irritate all foreign nations, together with some few decrees for plundering the clergy, and sequestering the property of the emigrants, were the only points in which the members of the convention cordially concurred. The factions were animated with deadly antipathy. Mirabeau said the royalists might safely be contended with, as they neither plundered, burnt, nor assassinated; but experience afforded conviction, that whatever moderation and virtue the Rolandists might affect, their treachery was deeper, and their revenge not less bloody, than that of their opponents.

In the course of their hostilities several angry motions had been made, the general result of which was beneficial to the Mountain. At the commencement of the sittings, Danton wished to retain his office of minister of justice conjointly with his seat in the legislature, alleging that the convocation of a convention superseded the restrictive laws of the former assemblies; though he failed in this point, he had the satisfaction of seeing his hated rival, Roland, who would not give up his place in the administration, excluded from the legislature†. Roland presented fre-

\* Herbert Marsh's History of Politics, &c. v. 1. chap. x.

† See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 324; *Cœuvres de Madame Roland*, vol. II. p. 179.



quent remonstrances to the convention against the tyranny of the commune of Paris, and at length obtained a decree for its dissolution; but he was less successful in denouncing the crimes of the 2d of September, as great part of them was attributed to the activity, or at least the connivance, of his own friends; and a complete investigation would have exposed secrets unsafe to both parties. At an early period of these disputes, a violent attack was made by Rebecqui, Barbaroux, Vergniaud, and Boileau, on Marat, whom no one defended, but who extricated himself by his impudence and dexterity \*.

CH. VIII.  
1792.

On a subsequent day, Louvet, who before the Revolution had shewn a sportive genius in some immodest romances, and had since been distinguished at the jacobin club, gained considerable applause by pronouncing a strong and well-digested speech, unveiling the views, politics, and resources, of Robespierre. The attack was unexpected, both as to the person and the matter, which was far superior to that which the rank of Louvet's talents taught the audience to expect. Robespierre, though not unexperienced in such contests, having been previously assailed by Kersaint and La Source, solicited a week to prepare his defence, which was with difficulty granted. He employed this interval in obtaining a powerful party in the gallery to support his cause, and on the appointed day produced a

25th Sept.

29th Oct.

5th Nov.

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 37.

CH. VIII. written oration, full of sounding phrases, though de-  
 1792. stitute of convincing arguments : but it contained that in which Robespierre shewed his greatest excellence ; keen sarcasm, bitter invective, and professions calculated to deceive and propitiate the people. Louvet was prevented from replying by his own party ; and Barrere, on this occasion, first shewed a predilection for the Mountain, by supporting the order of the day, which was decreed ; and Robespierre was, on the whole, considerably raised in popularity and real importance, by the effort which had been made to depress him. The jacobin club shewed themselves strenuous supporters of his cause, by striking from their list, on the same evening, the names of Louvet, Roland, Lanthenas, Rebecqui, Girey Dupré an agent of Brissot, and Barbaroux, who, in the interval between Robespierre's accusation and defence, had attacked him in an oblique and somewhat irregular manner.

The Brissotines tried to recover their avantage in a paper war, but Robespierre possessed superior talents in writing, and by a witty sarcastic epistle turned Petion, who entered the lists against him, into complete ridicule \*. The contest branched out in other directions, frequent attacks being made on Danton ; who while minister had embezzled considerable sums of money, and with great difficulty evaded

\* See Biographical Memoirs, v. II. p. 385, et seq. and Appendix X.

an enquiry proposed by the other party. A pro-Ch.VIII.  
ject of the right side, to protect themselves against 1792.  
the mobs of Paris by a force to be raised in  
the departments, occasioned also many vigorous  
debates.



## CHAP. IX.

*Exertions of the Mountain to procure the Trial of Louis XVI—Account of the Imprisonment of the Royal Family—Watched by brutal Commissioners—Abolition of Royalty announced—Faithful Services of Cléry—Daily Insults offered to the Royal Family—Efforts in the Convention—Petitions from the Jacobin Club and affiliated Societies—Violent Speeches of the Mountain Party—Feeble Opposition of the Gironde—Reports of Valazé—And Mailhé—Exertions in the King's Behalf—Discovery of an Iron Closet in the Tuilleries—Conduct of Roland—Rapid Proceedings of the Regicides—Robespierre moves to condemn the King without a Trial—His Trial before the Convention decreed—Preparation of Documents—Arrangements for the Trial—Further Insults on the Royal Family—The King summoned to the Bar of the Convention—His Protest—His Progress to the Hall of the Convention—Debates previous to his Arrival—His Appearance—And Interrogatory—He is separated from his Family—Counsel allowed him—Tronchet and Malesherbes appointed—De Seze added—The King's Defence prepared—He makes his Will—He is again brought before the Convention—His Defence read—His Address to the Convention—Judgment delayed—Fury of the Jacobins—Arrangement of the Questions*

*Questions to be decided—The King voted Guilty, and sentenced to death, without an Appeal—Arts used to obtain a Majority—Conduct of Egalité—The King's Letter to the Convention—His Sentence notified—His last Requests—Part granted and Part refused—M. Edgeworth, his Confessor, attends him—His last Interview with his Family—He receives the Sacrament—His Progress to the Place of Execution—Last Words—And Murder—General Consternation—His Burial—Observations on his Character.*

THESE party contentions, however acrimoniously conducted, were of small import compared with the efforts made by the furious orators of the Mountain to procure the trial and execution of their sovereign, Louis XVI. This attempt was so incompatible with every thing which had long been recorded and authentically considered as forming the French character, so devoid of every pretence of justice, and so repugnant to every principle of true policy, that even the previous atrocities of the revolution had not prepared mankind to believe that its accomplishment was seriously meditated, much less that the people, the armies, and the constituted authorities of France, would have permitted it to take place. The conduct and conclusion of this tremendous process prove, however, the truth of the observation, strongly enforced after the events of October, 1789, that the

space

CH. IX.

1792

CH. IX. space is but small from the prison of a prince to his  
 1792. grave.

The royal family were confined in the tower of an ancient building belonging originally to the grand-prior of the knights-templars, situated at the north-east extremity of Paris, in a division which formed a refuge for debtors, crowded with buildings of the meanest description, and particularly dirty, unwholesome, and melancholy. Great pains had been taken to render the apartments destined for the king and his family secure, and these precautions added to their gloom ; but the greatest cause of complaint arose, not from the care taken to detain their persons, but from the solicitude constantly displayed in loading them with every insult and injury which malice, meanness, and hardness of heart, could devise.

The commissioners of the commune, who were placed at once as spies and directors of their conduct, were purposely selected from the very dregs of the rabble ; and the guards to whom the custody of their persons was intrusted, paid court to the demagogues by wanton cruelty and brutal insolence. The decree for abolishing royalty was announced to the whole family collectively, with studied malice ; the commissioners hoping to extort from the monarch some mark of uneasiness at his degradation, but to their great disappointment all the captives bore the event with heroic resignation.

Jealousy and suspicion had deprived them of all their attendants



attendants except Clery, the valet-de-chambre of the dauphin, whose zeal and perseverance in the service of this illustrious family, which he has narrated in a modest and artless manner, will immortalise his name, and render his memory dear to all who can appreciate fidelity, displayed in times so critical and disadvantageous. The delineation which he has given of their daily life is extremely affecting; it shews a picture of tranquil conscience disarming the hand of oppression, and finding solace in the midst of misery, by virtuous recollections, and innocent and laudable industry. The enjoyments of the royal family were curtailed as much as possible by the prohibition of newspapers, except those which contained insolent libels on the king and queen\*; by compelling them to endure numerous delays before they obtained the most common necessities; and by insulting the misery which the plunder of the palace on the 10th of August had occasioned. The distress of the captives was so great, that the king was obliged to borrow changes of raiment from his valet-de-chambre; and the queen and the dauphin were supplied by the bounty of the countess of Sutherland, and some other

CH. IX.  
1792.

\* One of these papers contained the petition of a cannoneer, that a piece of artillery might be cast of a sufficient calibre to receive the head of Louis XVI. and that the petitioner might discharge it at the enemy. Another exhibited a rancorous untruth of the princess Elizabeth having had a child by a bishop: this young wolf, the writer added, ought to be strangled as well as the two (the dauphin and madame Royale) in the tower.

ladies;

CH. IX. ladies; but this intercourse was speedily superseded.

1792. The legislative assembly had decreed half a million of livres (21,875l.) for the expences of the royal family, but the king received only two thousand five hundred and twenty-six livres (110l. 10s. 3d.) from Petion; and his receipt for that trifling sum was published by Condorcet, in his journal called *Le Chronique de Paris*, with an insulting comment.

Even in the smallest objects, the persecutors of the king shewed an anxious desire to distress and mortify him; he had a time-piece inscribed with the maker's name, and the addition, "clock-maker *to the king*:" the last words the commissioners concealed with a wafer. A deputation from the commune attended, to require that he would no longer wear his star and ribands; and Clery was severely reprimanded, for demanding some necessaries in the name of *the king*, even before the decree for abolishing royalty had been formally announced. These insolences were borne with religious calmness, as well as many others, in which the commissioners on duty, consulting their own brutal dispositions, maltreated their captives with all the cruelty of upstart malice. One, named Turlot, declared, "if the executioner refused to guillotine that damned family (*cette sacrée famille*), he would do the office himself."

The sentinels were instructed in similar acts of insolence: they always presented arms on the approach of the municipal officers, but when any of the royal family

family came in sight, ostentatiously performed a different manœuvre from that which shewed respect. One of these men chalked on the inside of the king's chamber door, "The guillotine is in permanence, and waits for Louis XVI." The porter, when he opened the various gates for the family to take the air, amused the national guard by blowing from his pipe, volumes of smoke in the face of each as they passed, particularly the females; while the delighted soldiery obstructed the passages, uttering gross pleasantries, or singing revolutionary and often indecent songs. The termination of the period allotted to them for exercise was often announced in coarse terms, such as "*Allons, monsieur Veto, il faut monter*;" and on their return, they found the walls of their prison scrawled with threats and libels, in large characters. Among others were, "Madame Vêto shall swing;" "We shall find a way of bringing down the great hog's fat;" "The little wolves must be strangled." Under a gallows, with a figure hanging, were the words "Louis taking an air-bath." And under a guillotine, "Louis spitting in the bag;" with other efforts of similar ribaldry.

While Louis was rising above the hardships of his lot, by patience and magnanimity, his enemies in the convention were striving to accelerate his fate by motions for his trial, as it was called; though, from the beginning of the proceeding, it was plain, that the term trial was substituted for execution. Merlin first introduced



## CH. IX.

1792.

Oct. introduced the subject to the legislature, by observing, that after decreeing the abolition of royalty, it was time to shew the world that a dethroned king was not even a citizen, but should fall beneath the vengeance of the nation; and the convention ought to act both as judges and accusers. Although this atrocious speech produced no effect in the convention, the jacobin club in Paris, and the affiliated societies in the departments, presented numerous petitions for the condemnation of their sovereign, and the municipality of the capital, on every occasion, ostentatiously shewed their determination to pursue him to the scaffold.

28th Oct. The papers on which it was intended to found the charges against Louis XVI. were referred to a committee, and delay was judged necessary to prepare the public mind for the desired catastrophe; but the exertions of the regicide faction, and the inefficient opposition offered by the Gironde, removed every fear; the harangues in the convention soon appeared to proceed on the principle, that no trial for the ascertainment of guilt was necessary, but the only exertion requisite was to defeat the plea of inviolability, and pronounce sentence of death. Such were the sentiments avowed by Robespierre, who said “ sentence of death ought to be pronounced against Louis, as a tyrant, condemned by the insurrection of the people: instead of which, proceedings were instituted against him, as in the case of an accused citizen,

zen, whose criminality was doubtful. The revolu- CH. IX.  
1792.  
tion ought to have been cemented by his death ; instead of which, the revolution itself was rendered a subject of litigation." Similar to those were the sentiments of Legendre, Tallien, Jean Bon St. André, and the Mountain in general, and the journalists of their faction.

On the other hand the Brissotines timidly, and with the hesitation produced by their previous treachery, maintained the king's inviolability. They could not venture to pronounce, as their consciences dictated, that Louis was not guilty ; they could not support his conduct on any general principle which they had not opposed, or weakened, in the legislative assembly ; and such had been the atrocity and violence of their attacks in that legislature, that they were even afraid to move, as an instruction to the committee, that the king should not be accused of any facts which had taken place before his accepting the constitution : the glory of this solitary act of justice was left to the incendiary Marat.

Valazé, a man intimately connected with 6th Nov.  
the Gironde, presented the report of the committee on the papers, introducing it with a declaration, that " the proofs were found scattered in a chaos of vouchers, most of which were unimportant, and many had no connection *with the man in question.*" His report established certain grounds of accusation on papers collected from various houses, which  
had

CH. IX. had been searched since the 10th of August, unascertained by any deposition, unconnected with any train of events, and divested of all explanatory circumstances \*.

7th. The next day Mailhé, in the name of the committee of legislation, read another report on the questions, whether the king could be tried? by whom? and in what form? The legality of trying the king was inferred from a paradoxical argument, in which neither natural, civil, nor constitutional law, was consulted: the tribunal and mode of trial recommended were no less unreasonable, the convention creating themselves judges of a person whom they themselves accused; inventing a new code of laws as the ground-work of their proceedings; and establishing rules of evidence repugnant to reason, and unknown in the annals of jurisprudence. To render the injustice more flagrant, many of those self-constituted judges, before the trial, published their opinions in a style which demonstrated a rooted conviction, or a rancorous determination, which defied proof, and precluded the possibility of exculpation.

On the publication of these reports, the royalists who had quitted France, and the least atrocious of the republicans, made considerable exertions in the king's behalf; the former furnished facts and documents, proving the injustice of some principal accusations,

\* See an able examination of this report—Bertrand's Annals, vol. VIII. p. 133.



and the efforts of the latter seemed to make the result CH. IX.  
 so doubtful, that the convention decreed the printing 1792.  
 of all the speeches delivered, hoping by this delay to  
 gain more proselytes to the regicide system.

While these opinions were in a train of slow  
 delivery, a new incident occasioned consider- 20th.  
 able agitation. A secret iron closet, in which the  
 king kept his papers, fixed in a wall of the palace of  
 the Tuilleries, and covered with a pannel, was pointed  
 out to Roland, by the workmen who constructed it.  
 The minister, without making any communication to  
 the legislature, or to his colleagues, and unaccompa-  
 nied even by a single municipal officer, went to the  
 palace, and possessed himself of the whole collection  
 of writings, presenting such a portion of them as he  
 thought fit, to the convention, as documents *capable*  
*of throwing great light on the events of the 10th of*  
*August, on the revolution in general, and on those cha-*  
*acters who had taken the most active part in it.* He  
 declared that several members of the first and second  
 assemblies were implicated in the contents, and requir-  
 ed a committee to take cognisance of them. The  
 popularity of the virtuous Roland was not so great as  
 to prevent serious complaints against the irregularity  
 and self-sufficiency of his conduct; and it was openly  
 protested, that an opportunity was thus gained of  
 ruining, by fabrications, the characters of the most  
 virtuous patriots. The obvious facility of purloin-  
 ing, or forging papers, which might affect the king's  
 trial,

CH. IX. trial, excited, however, no animadversion; and the documents were referred to a committee of twelve.

1792.

In a short period, the success of the armies, the sanguinary petitions daily presented, the pamphlets which overflowed the metropolis, and the passiveness of the people in bearing the insults and injuries offered

to the royal family, emboldened the regicides

1st Dec.

to retract their former measure of delay; and it was decreed, on the motion of Legendre, that all the speeches intended to be delivered, should be laid on the table and printed, but the question on the king's trial should be decided on the 4th of December.

These resolutions were reinforced by a most

2d.

sanguinary petition of the revolutionary municipality of the 10th of August, which had been annulled by the convention, and who delivered this

3d.

ferocious scroll as their last corporate act.

Before the day arrived for deciding on the report of the committee, Robespierre attempted to convince the legislature that a trial was unnecessary, and moved for a decree proclaiming the king a traitor to the nation, an offender against human nature, and ordaining his being made a great example to the world on the very spot where, on the 10th of August, the brave martyrs of liberty were sacrificed. His motion was superseded in favour of one by Petion, that Louis XVI. should be brought to trial before the convention; and several subsequent propositions were made, intended rather as trials of strength between the parties,

than

than as seriously affecting the proceedings on this remarkable process, in which it was resolved that the convention should be employed every day from noon till ten o'clock. CH. IX.  
1792.

In consequence of the determination to subject the king to forms of trial, recourse 5th Dec. was had to the iron closet for documents; and from these a selection was made of some papers respecting the negotiation with Mirabeau, some expences by La Porte from the civil list, and an expression in a draught of a letter by the king, from which it was hoped to extract more plausible grounds of accusation than the report of Valazé could supply. When the committee of twelve had made their new report on these papers, a committee of twenty-one was appointed to draw up an act of accusation, which was to be discussed in the convention on the 10th, and Louis to appear the next day to answer interrogatories; he was to have a copy of his act of accusation, and a sight of the documents, and in two days to be finally heard. Each member was to give his vote from the tribune.

All these proceedings were kept studiously concealed from the king, though Clery by several ingenious devices contrived to let him see the journals, and to make him acquainted with the general tenor of the projects against him. The new commune of Paris thought proper to shew their patriotism by an insulting suggestion that Louis might probably terminate his days by suicide, and therefore resolved that the royal family



CH. IX. family should be deprived of all cutting, bruising, and  
 1792. piercing instruments, their attendants searched, and  
 their victuals tasted; a decree which was enforced  
 with disgusting harshness, and as it appears for mere  
 purposes of insult, since the royal family had knives  
 and forks at meals, and the king was allowed razors  
 to shave himself.

On the day fixed for the king's appearance  
 11th Dec. in the convention, he was alarmed at  
 eight o'clock by the beating of a drum, a circumstance  
 respecting which he could gain no intelligence from  
 the commissioner on duty, whose studied silence augmented his anxiety. He was at length informed that  
 the mayor would pay him a visit, but could not speak  
 to him in the presence of his son; and the child was  
 consequently sent into his mother's apartment. The  
 king sat in solitude and gloomy meditation two hours  
 before the new mayor \* made his appearance, attended  
 by Chaumette and Collumbeau, procureur and  
 secretary of the commune, several municipal officers,  
 and Santerre with his aid-de-camps. The mayor said  
 they were come to convey him to the convention, in  
 pursuance of a decree which was read by the secretary,  
 stating that *Louis Capet* should be brought to the bar.  
 The king protested against the form and effect of this  
 proceeding. "*Capet*," he said, "is not my name, but  
 that of one of my ancestors. I could have wished, sir,

\* Chambon, a physician.

that the commissioners had left my son with me during the two hours I have passed in waiting for you ; but this treatment is of a piece with the rest I have experienced here for four months past. I am ready to follow you, not in obedience to the convention, but because my enemies have the power in their hands.”

CH. IX.  
1792.

In crossing the court, nothing but strange objects presented themselves to the eyes of Louis. The uniform of the troops was new in its fashion ; and no countenance displayed the slightest mark of respect or commiseration. He rode in Chambon's coach. The procession began with three field-pieces, attended by two ammunition waggons, and escorted by a corps of fusileers ; forty-eight horse, *perfectly skilled in manœuvring*, formed the avant-guard. Six hundred foot, armed with firelocks, each of them provided with sixteen rounds of cartridges, and *perfectly skilful in manœuvring*, formed a line of three deep on each side of the coach. The cavalry from the *Ecole Militaire* formed the rear-guard, and the procession was closed by three field-pieces, attended by one ammunition wagon, and escorted, like those in the van, by a corps of fusileers. Nor were these the only precautions taken : the executive council, and the council-general of the commune, were in a state of permanent activity. Troops were posted in various parts of the capital ; patrols paraded the streets, and all the national guards in the department were put in a state of requisition.

CH. IX. requisition. During their progress, the whole party  
 1792. maintained profound silence.

Meanwhile the convention were engaged in altering the interrogatories, adopting new ones, and deciding the line of conduct they were to observe on the king's appearance. Barrere, the president, recommended silence; and Legendre enforced the observation by saying, "Guilt must be appalled by the silence of the tombs."

At length Santerre announced his arrival; and the king entered, not only without perturbation, but with majestic dignity. He cast his eye around the hall, with a look equally remote from fear and from contempt of the tribunal before which he was thus illegally cited. On him all eyes were fixed: his features, clouded by misfortune, had lost none of their majesty; but his appearance was inexpressibly venerable. He seated himself in an arm-chair provided for the purpose.

Barrere then informed the king of the accusation against him, to which he made no reply. Mailhé read the act of accusation, and without presenting to him a copy of this long desultory composition, even to refresh his memory by a cursory perusal or assist his judgment by a hasty comparison of its various parts with the pretended facts on which it was founded; without a moment allowed for preparation or reflection; the king was interrogated on the various charges, article by article. The interrogatory, notwithstanding



withstanding its apparent rudeness and want of method, was a work of the most subtle malice. The questions sometimes assumed an extraordinary latitude, sometimes were distinguished by a laborious minuteness; they sometimes imputed to the king the most flagrant tyranny, and at others the most refined and cautious hypocrisy. The form which had been prepared appearing occasionally deficient, the committee framed new questions, put them in writing, and delivered them to the president. The king answered with the utmost precision and promptitude. He never lost his composure, except when the president accused him of having *distributed money to the poor labourers in the faubourg St. Antoine, for the purpose of acquiring popularity and enslaving the nation*. The perversion of his very benevolence into a crime shocked the monarch, and deprived him of utterance; and he shed a few tears. Conscious integrity soon restored his calmness; and he replied, "I knew no pleasure equal to that of relieving want: *there was nothing in that which indicated a plot*." To the interrogatory accusing him of having caused blood to be shed on the 10th of August, he answered with much animation, and a marked emphasis, "No, sir! it was not I." When the examination was ended, the president asked, "Louis, have you any thing more to add?" "I demand," said the king, "a copy of the act of accusation, and the communication of the papers on which

CH. IX. which it is founded; and that I may have counsel  
 1792. to manage my defence."

Valazé then took his place near the king, with the papers on which the act of accusation was founded; and reading the title put on each by the committee, asked Louis if he avowed them; but he disclaimed the greater part. The examination being ended, the president permitted him to retire at six o'clock in the evening into the *Chambre des Conférences* \*. The fatigue of his examination, the agitation of his mind, and the length of his fast, then overcame him. "Give me a bit of bread," said the fainting monarch, "for I have eaten nothing all day."

The king was carried back to the Temple in the same coach, and with the same attendants who had accompanied him to the convention. The crowd exclaimed, "*Vive la république!*" and some few "*A la guillotine;*" but, on the whole, they were much more

\* The king's appearance in the convention, the dignified resignation of his manner, and the admirable promptitude of his answers, made such an evident impression on some of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of royalty, who had his eye upon them, declared he was afraid of hearing the cry of "*Vive le roi*" issue from the tribunes; and added, that if the king had remained a few minutes longer in their sight, he was convinced it would have happened. When he uttered the interesting expression of his happiness in relieving the people, one of the women in the gallery, who, like many others, came to execrate the monarch, was so affected, that she sobbed out, in a doleful voice, "Ah! my God! how he makes me cry!"

tranquil

tranquil than accorded with the wishes of those who CH. IX.  
1792. had been so active in inflaming them. In the way, the anxiety natural to his situation induced the king to ask Chaumette, if he thought counsel would be allowed him. The brutal *procureur* answered, "that it was his duty to conduct him to and from the assembly, and not to answer questions." Chambon, with more humanity, promised the king early information, and encouraged him to hope that his request would not be refused.

On his return the unfortunate monarch learnt that a resolution was taken to separate him from his family. This measure had been frequently urged in most indecent language, by the demagogues, from the moment of his dethronement; but it was now inhumanly carried, at a period when no advantage could be proposed but that of embittering his final hours. The queen and princess Elizabeth had been apprised of the intention of the legislature, by the active fidelity of Clery, and bore the event with dignified resignation; the king similarly acquiesced, after some unavailing efforts to see his son.

After the departure of Louis from the convention, a tumultuous debate took place on his demands respecting his defence. The Mountain, at first, insisted that he should have no counsel; afterwards wanted to confine him to one; but at length it was decided, that advocates should be allowed, without limiting the number, and that four members of the convention should



CH. IX.

1792.

13th.

should convey the information. To deter and intimidate men from undertaking this unpopular cause, it was proposed by the commune that they should be stripped, scrupulously searched, and compelled to take an oath never to discover any thing which came to their knowledge in the Temple; but this decree, though supported with all the influence of Robespierre and his faction, was rejected.

The king, being informed that the convention allowed him counsel, named Tronchet and Target. Tronchet accepted the office; but Target, who had been a member of the constituent assembly, refused, on pretence of age. M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes, though upwards of seventy years old, was not deterred either by decrepitude or danger; he offered his services, which were gratefully accepted, and, together with Tronchet, prepared to execute his arduous undertaking. The honour of this voluntary offering was not confined to Malesherbes; several other persons, both in Paris and in the provinces, tendered their assistance\*.

Several French gentlemen, whom the revolution

\* The most remarkable of these volunteer advocates was Olympia Degouges, styling herself, in her letter to the convention, a free and loyal republican without spot or blame. The cool and selfish spirit of Target, she said, had inflamed her heroism, and roused her sensibility, and she requested to assist M. de Malesherbes in preparing the king's defence. The assembly passed to the order of the day. She was guillotined 2d Nov. 1793, as a conspirator, and for having written against Robespierre.

had

had driven from their country, endeavoured in this crisis to render services to their sovereign, but in vain. In this honourable list are included the names of Lally Tolendal, Cazalés, Mounier, Narbonne, Bertrand, De Graves, De Bouillé, and Necker. CH. IX.  
1792.

When Maleherbes and Tronchet were admitted to the king, they were surprised to find that none of the papers referring to the act of accusation were delivered. The convention had, with much difficulty, afforded him time till the 26th of December for preparing his defence; and these precious moments were in danger of being lost through perverseness or barbarous delay. The papers being at length delivered, and M. de Seze added to MM. Maleherbes and Tronchet, their united and unremitting exertions completed the defence; which Louis only altered by expunging every expression relating to his virtues or appealing to the commiseration of the public. 14th Dec.

The king spent Christmas-day in religious exercise, and in writing his will. In this exquisitely pathetic and truly Christian composition, the sentiments, disposition, and frame of mind, of the royal author are exhibited without affectation; and shew him in a light so amiable, and at the same time so truly venerable, that it can never be seriously perused without leaving the mind of the reader strongly impressed with affection for the mildness of his character, respect for the solidity of his under-  
standing,

CH. IX. standing, and indignation against those furious blood-  
 1792. hounds who hunted to death so good and so benevolent a prince.

26. His persecutors in the convention and the commune made no secret of their determination to condemn him, even before his defence was heard; and Chaumette and Santerre proclaimed their reluctance to degrade the majesty of the people by attending him to the convention, and pretended to entertain fears, that if acquitted he would be assassinated in his return. The municipal officers did, however, convey him as before, and he conversed during the journey with ease and condescension on topics of literature.

The convention had ordained, that no person should be admitted to the galleries till a certain hour in the morning, but the mob took possession the preceding evening; Manuel moving to enforce the decree, was hooted, and the convention passed to the order of the day. Besides those in the galleries, a crowd beset the passages; and groupes in the streets surrounded, insulted, and threatened, those deputies who were supposed to favour the king.

In the *Chambre des Conférences* Louis met his counsel. General Berruyer announced his arrival, and he was introduced in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris and the procureur after them, and last the king, between Maleherbes and Tronchet, and attended by De Seze. The  
 president



president said, " Louis, the convention has decreed CH. IX.  
 that you shall be finally heard this day." The king 1792.  
 answered, " M. de Seze, one of my counsel, will  
 read my defence." The advocate then ascended the  
 tribune, and read the defence without interruption,  
 except some few pauses which the length rendered  
 necessary. While he was speaking the king preserved  
 his wonted tranquillity; and when he paused, spoke  
 with a smiling countenance to Malesherbes and  
 Tronchet.

It would be vain to offer an analysis of this address,  
 without reviewing at length the acts of the life of  
 Louis, on which the accusations were founded. Its  
 general character is given by Ségur \*, in terms at once  
 discriminate and just: " It was noble, convincing,  
 and methodical; it opposed truth to calumnies, facts  
 to suppositions, and reason to slander. It left no doubt  
 unsatisfied, no reproach unrefuted. This luminous  
 discourse dispelled by its perspicuousness all the shades  
 which party spirit endeavoured to extend over the  
 eyes of a fanatical multitude. If to convince rea-  
 soning minds alone had been the object, the speech  
 would have undoubtedly accomplished it; but it was  
 necessary to combat passions, and perhaps the arms  
 of pathetic eloquence should have been joined to the  
 pressing arguments of logic."

When De Seze had finished, the king arising,  
 calmly and with a firm voice read the following

\* Histoire du Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. III. p. 12.

CH. IX. words : " Citizens, you have heard my defence; I  
 1792. now speak to you perhaps for the last time, and declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing; and that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth. I never was afraid of having my conduct publicly investigated, but I am most sensibly afflicted to find, in the act of accusation, a charge that I desired to shed the blood of the people, and particularly that I occasioned the misfortunes of the 10th of August. I confess, that the numerous instances I have given, on every occasion, of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have conducted myself, appeared to me fully sufficient to prove how little I feared exposing my own safety, in order to avoid bloodshed, and to have effectually prevented such an imputation." After some slight interrogatories Louis was again permitted to retire; and was conducted to his prison amid the insults of the rabble, and the rude brutalities of the municipal officers.

On the king's departure, Manuel proposed to adjourn for three days, to print the defence, and send it to the departments. The Mountain urged that instant judgment should be pronounced, displaying outrageous violence, and insulting the president: but, after much tumultuous altercation, it was decreed that every member should deliver his opinion from the tribune before the day fixed for the *appel nominal*\*; and the convention, discontinuing all other

\* The *appel nominal* was a calling over of the names of the deputies; each one to give his vote at the time of answering.

business,

business, occupy itself solely on this trial. The Jacobin club heard of this delay with indignation : they expelled Manuel, and the president furiously exclaimed, “ I declare myself in a state of insurrection ; I will assassinate the first Rolandist, Brissotine, Feuillant, or Girondist, I meet.” Under the influence of this blood-thirsty faction, the decree for hearing the opinion of every member was repealed ; and those who had composed discourses were ordered to lay them on the table to be printed. All the resources of art and violence were exerted to impel sentence and execution, and to inflame the populace against the king : sanguinary petitions demanded his head ; <sup>30th—31st</sup> and a procession was made of all the diseased <sup>Decem.</sup> and wounded people from the hospitals, who were exhibited as patriots wounded on the 10th of August, and came to the bar of the convention claiming vengeance on the tyrant.

The form and arrangement of the questions to be decided occupied a whole day. They <sup>Jan. 1793.</sup> were in substance : 1st. Is Louis guilty or not ? 2d. Shall the judgment to be pronounced be submitted to the people in primary assemblies ? 3d. What punishment has he incurred ? These propositions were thus subtilly arranged, to make the king’s execution more certain. The questions were legislative, as well as jurisprudential ; and, by a preposterous perversion of justice, guilt was to be declared, and then a law made, establishing for a single criminal a peculiar punishment.



CH. IX. punishment. According to the rules of reason, the  
 1793. first question should have been placed last ; because till the right of appeal and extent of the sentence were ascertained, no judgment should be pronounced. Had the second and third questions changed places, many who voted against the appeal, not approving it on general grounds, would have favoured it as the only means of saving the king's life ; and many who entertained hopes that sentence of death would not be pronounced by the convention, thought it absurd as well as dangerous to refer to the people a less rigorous judgment.

On the first *appel nominal*, there was a ge-  
 15th Jan. neral affirmative, or verdict of Guilty. On the second, which was put to the vote the same day, the division was : for the affirmative, 283 ; for the negative, 424---majority against an appeal to the people, 141.

The third *appel nominal* lasted two days,  
 16th and 17th. because almost every member accompanied his vote with some reason or reflection. The number of suffrages was reduced by death, absence, and refusals to vote, to seven hundred and twenty-one : thirty-four gave their opinions for death, with various restrictions ; two for imprisonment in chains ; and three hundred and nineteen for confinement or banishment :—total, 355. The number of votes for death absolutely was 366.—Majority, 11. The president, Vergniaud, after enumerating the suffrages, said,

said, "The punishment pronounced against Louis is CH. IX.  
 DEATH \*." 1793.

This inconsiderable majority was the produce of intreaty, terror, and violence. Grangeneuve and Kervélégan gave evidence of these facts; stating, that members were stopped and surrounded by bodies of the lowest class of the people, who put pistols to their heads, threatening to sacrifice them if they did not vote for the death of the king.

In the whole course of this sanguinary transaction, nothing created greater surprise and horror than the conduct of Egalité. This deluded and wicked wretch, it is said, intended to have abstained from voting, but Robespierre gained his suffrage and interest by means of terror. When on the first question he pronounced the affirmative, a general murmur pervaded the convention; his vote against the appeal to the people was received with similar indications of surprise, and his opinion on the third question was awaited with curiosity and impatience. From the tribune he deliberately pronounced these words: "Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty; convinced that all who have conspired or who shall hereafter conspire against the sovereignty of the people deserve death; I VOTE FOR DEATH." The assembly was in a general ferment; one member starting from his seat, and striking his hands toge-

\* Vergniaud, after pronouncing this sentence, passed the whole night in tears, and seemed quite in a state of despair.

ther,

CH. IX. ther, exclaimed "*Ah, le scelerat !*" Many repeated  
 1793. that expression, and "*Oh, l'horreur ! Oh, le monstre !*"  
 The king alone felt pity for the degraded state of his  
 worthless persecutor : " I do not know," he said,  
 " what I have done to my cousin to make him be-  
 have to me in the manner he has ; but he is to be  
 pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I  
 certainly would not change conditions with him."

When sentence had been pronounced, the king's  
 advocates were admitted. De Seze, after a short ex-  
 ordium, read a letter from Louis ; in which he dis-  
 claimed the guilt imputed to him by the sentence,  
 and appealed to the nation at large. The three coun-  
 sel enforced the contents of the paper, by observa-  
 tions on the illegality, violence, and cruelty of the  
 sentence ; but the convention passed to the order of  
 the day.

A motion for a respite was argued  
 18th and 19th. with great warmth, but decided in the  
 negative by a majority of seventy \* ; and the legislature  
 20th. ordered, that a copy of the decree pronounc-  
 ing sentence of death against Louis should  
 be notified to him in the course of the next day by  
 the executive council, and executed within twenty-  
 four hours afterwards : he was to communicate freely  
 with his family, and to have with him such priests as  
 he might desire in his last moments. Garat,  
 20th. the minister of justice, attending with the de-

\* Three hundred and eighty to three hundred and ten.



tree, accosted the king in a faltering voice: CH. IX.  
 “Louis,” he said, “the executive council is ordered 1793.  
 to disclose to you the decree which the convention  
 passed last night.” The secretary then read the de-  
 cree. At the words, *conspired against the general safety*  
*of the nation*, the king appeared shocked; but he  
 heard the rest, including his sentence, with unalter-  
 able calmness. He delivered a paper, requiring a de-  
 lay of three days to prepare for appearing in the pre-  
 sence of God; to see, in private, his confessor M.  
 Edgeworth de Firmont; to be freed from the unceas-  
 ing watchfulness of the commune; to communicate  
 in private with his family, whom he required the con-  
 vention to permit to retire whithersoever they pleased.  
 He recommended to the nation the persons attached  
 to him, many of whom had no means of subsistence  
 but the pensions he allowed; and those individuals  
 who had expended their whole fortunes in procuring  
 situations about him\*.

Several

\* The following account of this interview is given in the words  
 of the incendiary Hebert, author of *Le Père Duchesne*, and deputy  
*procureur de la commune*, who accompanied Garat on this occasion:  
 “I was desirous to be included among those who were present at  
 reading the sentence of death against Louis. He listened with un-  
 common *sang froid*. When the reading was over, he demanded  
 access to his family; a confessor; in short, every thing which could  
 afford him consolation in his last moments. His gestures and his  
 words were so replete with grace, dignity, nobleness, and greatness,  
 that I could not resist them. Tears of rage moistened my eye-lids.

## CH. IX.

1793.

Several of these requests were anticipated by the decree of the preceding sitting ; on the remainder the convention passed to the order of the day. With respect to the royal family, they answered, "That the nation, *great in its beneficence, as rigorous in its justice,* would provide for them a suitable fate." The king, when informed his request of delay was refused, sheltered himself in patience.

M. Edgeworth was conveyed to the Temple in Garat's carriage, but not permitted to appear in priest's vestments ; he was insulted by the commissioners, who examined his snuff-box, lest it should contain poison, and his pencil-case, as it might conceal a stiletto. After passing through this ordeal, he was permitted to ascend the stairs, through knots of guards, who were drunk, swearing, and singing. The king received him with affection ; and having read his will twice over, and declared his forgiveness of all his enemies, particularly the duke of Orleans, prepared to receive his family.

This interview was not arranged without difficulty ;

There was in his look, and in his manner, something evidently supernatural. I retired, striving to restrain the tears which flowed in spite of me ; and resolved that should be my last ministerial act about him." This account from such a man as Hebert, surpasses any eulogium that art, study, or even sensibility, could dictate. It illustrates the observation of Boileau :

" Il me semble en lui voir le diable,  
Que Dieu force à louer les saints."

the

the commissioners of the commune, whose brutality seemed to increase as the life of their victim drew towards a close, insisted on a literal execution of their orders, not to lose sight of Louis for a moment, while Garat declared the intention of the legislature to be, that he should see his family in private: a compromise was at length effected, by assigning the dining-room as the place of meeting; it had a glass door, which being shut, the commissioners could see through it without hearing. At half past eight o'clock, the queen, dauphin, madame Royale, and madame Elizabeth, rushed into his arms. Their conversation, which lasted an hour and three quarters, was not heard; but it was observed, that after each sentence pronounced by the king, the sobs of the princesses were renewed, from which it was inferred, that he himself informed them of the sentence. Louis himself rose first to end the interview; he promised another meeting at seven the next morning, but madame Royale fainted at his feet, and he tore himself with difficulty from their ardent embraces.

The king passed the short remainder of his time in pious conversation with Edgeworth, who solicited from the commune the necessaries for administering the holy communion. "There are examples," said one of the commissioners, "of priests who have mixed poison with the host." Suppressing his indignation at this reflection, Edgeworth calmly replied, "I have



CH. IX.

1793.

been sufficiently searched to satisfy you, but, to obviate all doubts, you yourselves may furnish me with the host." The council, after deliberating, agreed to the request, on condition that the priest should write and sign his demand; and that the ceremony should conclude before seven o'clock in the morning. The king having thanked God for this last indulgence, and supped with his confessor, retired to bed, and slept the sleep of innocence.

21st.

At five o'clock he was awaked, according to his request, and received the sacrament; he made up a small packet of affectionate memorials for his family, which he delivered to Clery, and then awaited with composure the arrival of the officers who were to convey him to the place of execution. He requested, in vain, a pair of scissars, that Clery might cut off his hair; and even in these last moments, the commissioners could not restrain their disposition to brutal insult. Edgeworth having expressed a resolution to accompany him to the last, the king retired into a closet to receive his final benedictions, and then returning into the room where Santerre waited for him, pronounced, with a firm voice, the word *Marchons*. Two commissioners, two constitutional priests, and two gendarmes, commissioned to murder him if a rescue were attempted, rode in the carriage, besides the royal victim, and M. Edgeworth. They left the Temple about three quarters after eight o'clock.

A pro-

A profound silence prevailed among the people. CH. IX.  
The escort consisted of twelve hundred men, being 1793.  
twenty-five from each section of Paris, selected as tried patriots, and expert in military discipline. All the streets were besides crowded with national guards; the doors of most houses were shut, and the police had strictly forbidden any one to appear at the windows. As the progress was extremely slow, the king asked Edgeworth for a prayer-book. The abbé gave him his breviary, pointing out the psalms most proper in his situation, which the king continued reading with great devotion till twenty minutes after ten, when he arrived at the foot of the guillotine, erected between the pedestal which had supported the statue of Louis XV. and the *Champs Elisées*.

The king having recommended his confessor to the care of the national guard, threw off his coat, and was preparing to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands, to tie them behind his back: his first movement was to repel this insult with indignation; but Edgeworth said, "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings resemble those of our Saviour, who will soon be your reward." The king's repugnance was instantly subdued; and with a dignified air of resignation, he presented his hands. The executioners drawing the cords with all their force, the king mildly said, "There is no need to pull so hard."

While

CH. IX.

1793.

While he was ascending the steps, Edgeworth, as if by inspiration, exclaimed, "LOUIS, SON OF SAINT LOUIS, ASCEND TO HEAVEN."

As soon as the king came upon the scaffold, he advanced with a firm step to the part which faced the palace, and desiring the drums to cease, was immediately obeyed. He then pronounced loud enough to be heard at the garden of the Tuilleries, "Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed."

He was proceeding, when Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without intermission, while the executioners seizing the victim, placed him under the axe of the guillotine. These transactions, from the time of reaching the place of execution, occupied only two minutes.

As soon as the act was perpetrated, the people who had hitherto maintained a profound silence, exclaimed "*Vive la République!*" A troop of young men, placed for the purpose, commenced a dance round the scaffold, while a youth between eighteen and twenty years of age, caught up the bleeding head, and brandishing it with ferocious exultation, cried, "*Vive la Nation!*" Several persons dipped the points

of



of pikes, pieces of paper, and pocket-handkerchiefs, in the blood. The king's hair had been cut off before he ascended the scaffold, and was sold in small parcels for considerable sums. The theatres were shut in the evening; and the whole city appeared the residence of confusion and dismay, which was augmented by the assassination of Le Pelletier de St. Fargeau, a member of the convention, who had voted for the king's death, and was stabbed at an eating-house.

CH. IX.

1793.

On the day of the king's execution, M. le Duc, an old servant of his father, prayed leave to inter him at Sens, with the rest of his family; but the request was refused on an observation of Chabot, that Louis ought to be buried with other citizens, in the cemetery of the section where he last resided. Legendre required to cut up the corpse into eighty-four pieces, and send one to each of the departments, and the heart to the convention. The body was at last thrown, without funeral ceremony, into a space in the church-yard of St. Mary Magdalen, which was filled with quick-lime, carefully guarded till the body was supposed to be entirely consumed, and then levelled with the circumjacent ground, that every trace of the spot where the monarch was deposited might be effectually obliterated \*.

\* His untimely end was honoured by a general mourning in England, and most other countries in Europe.

## CH. IX.

1793.

Such was the tragical end of the last king acknowledged in France. His character has been descanted on in the most glowing colours, by his affectionate subjects ; no part of their eulogies is deficient in foundation ; and most of his enemies, in the midst of a studied system of calumny, have been obliged, at some periods, to acknowledge his virtues. Want of firmness and active courage is the fault most generally attributed to him ; but his whole conduct proves that he had no fears for himself, his only terrors arose from the probability of shedding the blood of his subjects in civil war \*. His conduct from the time his trial commenced,

\* On the misapplication of this humane principle by this unfortunate sovereign, Mr. Bowles, in a recent publication, makes the following judicious remarks : “ Strange as it may seem, mischiefs which involve the ruin of states, and the destruction of social order, may originate in honourable and amiable feelings, which produce the most disastrous effects ; because they are not under the guidance of judgment ; because they are not accompanied with comprehensive views of the nature of society. The preservation of order and security imposes an indispensable duty on all who exercise authority, to resist, as dangerous weaknesses, those compassionate feelings, which, if indulged, would screen offenders from punishment, encourage the commission of crimes by the prospect of impunity, or suffer resistance to ripen into rebellion, by neglecting to repress the first beginnings of turbulence and commotion. While they remember that it is their bounden duty to temper justice with mercy, they should not forget that ill-judged lenity to the guilty is cruelty to the innocent. The ambition of Louis XIV., the bigotry of Charles IX., and the tyranny of Louis XI., were not  
a thou-

commenced, till the moment which terminated his ex- CH. IX.  
 istence, forms a picture of excellence almost surpass- 1793,  
 ing humanity, and demonstrates the transcendent be-  
 nefits of that religious purity which takes the sense of

a thousandth part so severe a scourge to France, as the misplaced lenity and amiable weakness of Louis XVI. No usurper of ancient or modern times ever waded through such seas of blood to a throne, as have deluged that unfortunate country in consequence of the apparently humane resolution of the last-mentioned prince, that *no blood should be shed in his cause*. There cannot, indeed, be a greater or a more mischievous error, than this unfortunate prince fell into in supposing, that when the authority of a sovereign is assailed, it is *his cause* exclusively, or even principally, which is at issue. The authority which he has received from that power by which 'kings reign and princes decree justice,' is bestowed, not for his own sake, but that of his people. It is a sacred trust reposed in him, for the benefit and security of his subjects. He is the guardian of the persons and property of those who are placed under his care. The laws are weapons put into his hands for their defence. And if, to indulge the generous emotions of his heart; if, to escape those pangs which every humane mind cannot but feel in inflicting punishment upon criminals; he suffers those laws to lose their effect, and to be no longer 'a terror to evil doers'—if he 'bear the sword in vain,' he will be responsible to the great King of kings, whose minister he is, for all the sufferings which his ill-judged and destructive humanity may bring upon the people committed to his charge—and, indeed, for every outrage upon the person or property of any of them, which this sacrifice of justice to mercy may invite—nay, for the very guilt of offenders, who may be drawn into the commission of crimes by those hopes of impunity, which a reliance on his lenity shall have encouraged them to form." Thoughts on the late General Election, &c. 1802. p. 73.

shame



**CH. IX.** shame from premeditated ignominy, which deprives  
1793. cruelty of its venom, and death of his sting\*.

\* For the events relative to the trial and murder of Louis XVI. I have reviewed all the authorities cited in the Biographical Memoirs; particularly Clery's Journal, which was not published before the life of the king in that work was printed: a sheet was cancelled, and a few pages inserted for the sake of correctness, but still a few errors remained.—I have also consulted the more recent publications; as Bertrand's Annals, and a few others, from which no new facts are derived.

## CHAP. X.

*State of France after the Murder of the King—Conduct of Dumouriez—Effect of the Proceedings of the French in Belgium—Pacific Conduct of Great Britain—Encouragement afforded by France to English Revolutionists—Attack on Dutch Flanders decreed—The French Ambassador ordered to leave London—War declared against the King of England and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces—Pretended Negotiations—Progress of Dumouriez—The French defeated by General Clerfaye at Aix-la-Chapelle—Their subsequent ill Success—Alarm in Paris—Failure at Cagliari—Subsequent Transactions in Flanders—Battle of Tirlemont—The French retreat from Flanders—Jealousies excited against the Generals—Defection of Dumouriez—His Addresses—Attempts to secure the Adherence of the Army—And Flight—He and his Attendants are outlawed—Egalité denounced and imprisoned—Dreadful Aspect of French Affairs—Progress of the Contest between the Mountain and the Brissotines—Conspiracy of the 10th of March—Brissot's Printing-Office destroyed—A Play called l'Ami des Loix suppressed—Frequent Petitions and Addresses—Formation of a Committee of Twelve—And of the Revolutionary Tribunal*

*bunal—Exertions of Marat against the Brissotines—They are denounced by Robespierre—Efforts of Marat on that Occasion—Guadet obtains a Decree of Accusation against him—Imprudence of Guadet's Party—The Cause of Marat vehemently espoused by the Mountain—His Acquittal before the Revolutionary Tribunal—And triumphant Return to the Convention—Petition for the Expulsion of twenty-two Members—Decreed calumnious—Timid Conduct of the Brissotines—Petition from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine—Increasing Influence of the Mountain—Brissot's Address to his Constituents—Henriot made Commander of the National Guard—Hebert arrested—The Committee of Twelve prepare a Report—Injudicious Boast of Isnard—Insurrection on the 31st of May—Le Brun and Madame Roland arrested—Proceedings on the 1st of June—Insurrection renewed—Claviere arrested—Violent Address to the Convention—The Hall surrounded by an armed Force—Arrestation of twenty-one Members decreed—The Insurrection ended.*

CH. X. 22d Jan. 1793. **T**HE gloom and consternation which overspread Paris on the completion of the greatest of national crimes was increased, not only by the assassination of Le Pelletier, but by the shutting of the barriers, and a domiciliary visit so rigorously executed, that six thousand persons were reported to be arrested as emigrants. The people saw themselves about to plunge into a general and unfounded war with all Europe, while



while no adequate pretence of injury or promise of advantage was held out to them as a motive. Great efforts were made to render Brissot and the war faction unpopular, yet the other party did not venture to exhibit a promise of peace, but, on the contrary, seemed inclined to cover France with blood, and the rest of Europe with ruins. The people could not but feel that their ease and property were sacrificed by individuals whom they did not respect, to schemes which they did not comprehend, and which did not promise either success or advantage. Yet the people in Paris were quiet, and exhibited the stupefaction of extreme terror, not daring even to express grief at the crimes which defaced their country, overawed by a few bold brigands, who insulted and robbed them, while they boasted of restoring freedom; and taught the citizens, from whom every other exclamation would have been treason, to shout in praise of liberty and equality. France appeared as if "one spirit of the first-born Cain reigned in all bosoms." War without was eagerly fought; anarchy and rebellion raised their heads in the departments, and in the convention opposition was conducted with the avowed design of bringing the vanquished party to an ignominious death.

Dumouriez, dissatisfied at the extortions practised in Belgium, and irritated at the opposition to which his projects were exposed from Pache, the war minister, was in Paris during the latter part of the life of Louis XVI. Great numbers of his soldiers were dispersed

CH. X.   
 1793. perfed in the capital, and he was viewed with jealousy by all parties ; but his conduct proved that their fufpicions were unfounded, and that they had not duly eftimated his character. He paffed his time in writing memorials to the convention, intriguing between the Briffotines and the Mountain, founding the fentiments of fhopkeepers on the fate of Louis, and quarrelling with Dubois Crancé\*.

In the conquest of Austrian Flanders, the neutral governments of Europe could difcern no caufe of hoftility ; the incurfion was not even fufficiently alarming to forbid an expectation that the emperor would be able in another campaign to recover the territory fo fuddenly wrefted from him ; but the proceeding of France towards the conquered people excited fenfations widely different. To poffefs a country in a military manner was ufual, and could occasion no complaint : but the novelty of pretending in right of conquest to emancipate the fworn fubjects of a throne from their oaths of allegiance ; to change their political relation by conferring on them new rights of which they could not be deprived even in the event of their being reconquered ; thefe were innovations in the received customs of warfare which gave alarm, and rendered governments who were not difpofed to hoftility, jealous and terrified left the fyftem of unprovoked aggreffion fhould be extended to them, and the

\* See Life of Dumouriez, vol. III. and Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 415.

new project of calling on their subjects to change their form of government under the protection of French arms put in practice to their destruction.

CH. X.

1793.

Great Britain had from the beginning of the revolution kept cautiously aloof from every connection which could engender suspicion, or create a probability of a war with France ; and, at the time of lord Gower's quitting Paris, the unequivocal declaration of Le Brun in the name of the executive council, proved the equity of her conduct. That of the French on the contrary had in many small points been replete with circumstances of offence, which a jealous nation or captious administration might have inflamed into causes of war ; but the British government, instead of strengthening the means of hostility, disbanded part of its forces both by sea and land, and reduced the taxes. The king in compliance with the wishes of the French government, forbade all his officers from entering into the armies of the allies, and used every other exertion consistent with his dignity to evince his good faith in the maintenance of neutrality. Still the government of Great Britain was beset with the very arts and means which had been employed to overthrow the government of France. Clubs were formed with corresponding committees, professedly for legal, but indisputably for revolutionary, purposes ; seditious publications were disseminated with art and activity ; and it was found necessary on the 21st of May, 1792,

to



CH. X. to issue a proclamation for restraining these attempts  
 1793. against the social establishment.

While the predominating party in France could not but perceive the solicitude of the British government on this subject, and while the most violent of their revolutionary rulers acknowledged the upright conduct of the British administration, every encouragement was afforded to those whose conduct was hostile to the cabinet of St. James's. Every deputation breathing sentiments destructive of the British constitution was hailed with triumph, and complimented as the sound part of the nation; while British subjects noted only for their hostility to their native government were sought out and acknowledged as French citizens, and selected as the fittest to fill seats in the national convention. So active was the impulse given by these, and other more clandestine, though not less effectual, encouragements to sedition in all parts of the  
 13th Dec. British empire, that the king found it necessary  
 1792. to convoke parliament at an earlier period than he had originally intended, to call out the militia, and adopt measures for the internal defence of the kingdom. The decree of the 19th of November, holding out the protecting hand of France to insurgents of all nations; and the application of it ostentatiously made to Great Britain, by the favourable reception of deputations of English rebels negotiating for French fraternity; indicated with indisputable precision

precision the hostile views of all parties in France CH. X.  
against that country. 1793.

When Dumouriez had completed the con-<sup>10th</sup>  
quest of the Austrian Netherlands, the con- Decem.  
vention decreed the invasion of that part of Flanders  
which belonged to the neutral states of Holland ; and  
the prosecution of a war against that unoffending  
country was one of the ostensible views of Dumouriez's  
visit to Paris. As the politics of the Dutch were  
divided between the contending influences of an  
English and French party, strenuous remonstrances  
were necessary from the British ambassador to excite  
a spirit of resistance against French aggression, favour-  
able to the liberty of both countries, and consistent  
with the tenor of ancient treaties. Meanwhile active  
proceedings were adopted in the convention and in  
the clubs to inflame the public mind against Great  
Britain ; haughty enquiries were made respecting the  
political tendency of acts passed by the British parlia-  
ment, for enabling the government to ensure its tran-  
quillity by dismissing suspicious foreigners from its  
shores, and to restrain the devices for involving its  
commercial credit with that of France by prohibiting  
the circulation of assignats. The hostile intentions of  
France could no longer be doubted, nor could the  
cabinet of St. James's mistake the source of those in-  
ternal agitations which were excited in many parts,  
and threatened the welfare of the state : the most  
considerable persons in the metropolis expressed to  
VOL. I. A A government

**CH. X.** government both their fears, and their devotion to  
 1792. the cause of the country; and at length M. Chauvelin,  
 an active agent of the republican faction, who had  
 been employed as a spy over Louis XVI. \*, and had  
 Jan. 10th, for some time resided in London as French  
 1793. ambassador, was ordered to quit the kingdom.

1st Feb. The national convention did not, however,  
 await the intelligence of this event before they  
 carried their hostile intentions into effect: in this  
 single subject both parties in the convention cordially  
 joined, and on the 1st of February a long and ca-  
 lumnious report by Brissot was followed by an una-  
 nymous decree that *the French republic* was at war with  
*the king*, of England, and *the stadtholder* of the United  
 Provinces.

Consistently with the insidious form of this declara-  
 tion, and in order to afford the factious in each country  
 a pretext that the people were precipitated into a  
 war against their interests, and merely to gratify the  
 ambition of their rulers, a mockery of negotiation was  
 practised by sending emissaries to England, who de-  
 manded to be received as agents of the French govern-  
 ment, though furnished with no authentic credentials,  
 nor invested with any efficient powers. Dumouriez  
 too, when at length dispatched to his army, was  
 furnished with presumed authorities to commence a  
 treaty with lord Auckland, and the grand pen-  
 sionary of Holland; but it soon became apparent that

† See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. I. p. 286.



his credentials were as vague, and his intentions as treacherous, as those of the parties who had been already dispatched on the same employ \*. Ch. X.  
1798.

Dumouriez did not wait for the detection of his want of sufficient powers to treat for peace, before he began hostilities. Having transmitted orders to Miranda for regulation of his proceedings, he assembled the main army, consisting of sixty thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, and having published an address to the Batavians (as the Dutch were affectedly called), full of false and scurrilous reflections on the stadtholder and the government of England†, he proceeded to capture Breda and Klundert, while Berneron took Williamstadt, and d'Arçon Gertruydenberg. Meanwhile Miranda at the head of fifteen thousand men was besieging Maestricht, and entertained hopes of compelling it to surrender; when general Clerfaye, crossing the Roer above Aix-la-Chapelle, compelled the enemy to evacuate that city, and falling on the besiegers at Maestricht, put them

February.

23d and  
26th.

2d March.

1st March.

\* For an ample detail of these events, and a luminous view of the motives and conduct of the French government in the whole transaction with Great Britain and Holland, see Herbert Marsh's History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, and the authentic documents to which he refers with undeviating fidelity. See also his reply to William Belsham for proofs of the glaring falsehoods used in the production of statements tending to contradict the inferences he has drawn.

† See this proclamation and the answer in Debrett's State Papers.

to

Cn. X. to the rout with great slaughter, relieved the place;  
 1793. and compelled the French to fall back to Alderhoven.  
 General Valance in consternation asserted that unless  
 Dumouriez immediately joined that portion of the  
 army, the ill consequences would be irreparable.  
 Dumouriez, who had rendered himself completely  
 ridiculous by his boastful declarations that he would  
 speedily achieve the conquest of Holland, and even  
 dictate peace to England from the Tower of London,  
 was now obliged to think only of retaining his rapid  
 acquisitions in Austrian Flanders. He joined his  
 forces to the discomfited army, and made a vain  
 endeavour to check the victorious progress of the  
 allies, who successively recaptured Tongres, Liege,  
 Ruremonde, and Fort St. Michael, marking their  
 progress by trophies gained in the field of battle. The  
 French general had no resource against these disasters  
 but a querulous proclamation, ascribing the  
 8th March. reverses he had sustained to the negligence  
 and undisciplined state of the army; and endeavouring  
 to reanimate the sinking courage of his troops by re-  
 calling the campaign of the last year, in which they  
 had so successfully resisted the invaders of the French  
 territory.

Intelligence of these reverses roused the convention  
 from their dream of easy conquest and profitable  
 fraternisation. Their schemes had been attended  
 with such effect, that besides realising great sums in  
 Flanders by the plunder of the churches, the enforced  
 circulation

circulation of assignats, and the levy of contributions from the rich, they had obtained petitions from Liege, Ghent, and Brussels, requesting union and incorporation with the republic. Dismissing these splendid visions for a time from their minds, the parties in the convention began mutually to accuse each other of treachery, and to develop the intrigues which led to a war with England and Holland. The enemies of Dumouriez were roused to redoubled rancour; alarm prevailed in the capital, the theatres and public places were shut, the black flag was exhibited on the church of Notre Dame, the country solemnly proclaimed in danger, and the citizens invoked to fly to arms, or all would be lost.

CH. X.  
1793.

The sensations which gave rise to these efforts were augmented by news of an attack and descent made by admiral Truguet on Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, in which he was repulsed, after renewed efforts, with loss and disgrace; his troops refusing to obey command, firing on each other, and tumultuously insisting on being reconveyed on ship-board. The subsequent events in the army of Dumouriez completed the impression made by previous disasters in a moment so critical and dangerous. It could not escape observation that in his addresses to his troops, Dumouriez incessantly claimed their confidence in himself personally, and in his public dispatches made frequent and bold reproaches against the convention. He found the people throughout Flanders



**CH. X.** Flanders in the highest degree irritated at the extor-  
 1793. tions and insults they had endured, and which he  
 could neither defend nor obviate.

March  
 16th, 17th, near Tirlemont, he was attacked by the armies  
 18th.

of the allies. The engagement lasted three  
 days, and was conducted with great bravery on both  
 sides ; but the superior skill of the allies in taking ad-  
 vantage of some mistakes made by the French general  
 decided the fate of the encounter, and Dumouriez, for  
 the first time, vanquished in a general engagement, was  
 obliged to retreat towards the French frontier, with the  
 loss of thirty-three pieces of cannon, and a great  
 number of men slain and drowned. The victors pressed

forward to reap the fruits of their success. In  
 22d. four days they again attacked the French on  
 the high grounds near Louvain, routed them with the

loss of two thousand men, and triumphantly  
 24th. entered Brussels. Breda, Gertruydenberg, Ant-  
 werp, Mons, Namur, and Ostend, surrendered to the  
 allies ; and before the end of March the French  
 troops were driven back within the limits of their own  
 frontier \*.

During these transactions, the convention was  
 agitated by daily motions, and the people harassed by  
 perpetual criminations, brought forward by both

\* For these events, see Journals and Gazettes ; Mémoires du  
 General Dumouriez, par lui-même, année 1793 ; Major Money's  
 History of the Campaign, p. 272, et seq.

parties with equal zeal and eagerness. Pache had been obliged to resign the situation of minister at war, which was assumed by Bournonville; but the increasing clamour when ill success assailed the troops, induced him to resign, and solicit permission to join the army. The city of Paris was the centre of turbulence; plots of the most contradictory nature were said to exist, whilst pillage and every kind of violence were carried on without control. Jealousies were actively fomented against the general. Dumouriez was the subject of repeated denunciations, and a decree of accusation passed against his rival Miranda.

The suspicions so long entertained by Marat against Dumouriez were now realised; he had entered into a treaty with the generals of the allied army, in consequence of which he had obtained a truce, and professed his intention of marching to Paris to reform the government; but he had not taken proper measures to secure the attachment of his soldiers, or the co-operation of his officers; and in his whole army he could only rely on Valence, Egalité, and Miaczinski. In his retreat from Flanders he was met at Tournay by madame Sillery, and the wife of young Egalité; and in a conversation with the deputies on mission from the convention, he explained his views in a manner too open to be any longer subject to doubt: he said the jacobins would ruin France; but he would save it, though they should call him a Cæsar,

Ch. X. Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk. There must be a  
 1793. king; but it was of little consequence whether it was  
 19th. a *James*, a *Louis*, or a *Philip*. Before this  
 conversation was reported to the legislature,  
 a decree had passed ordering him to the bar: and  
 Bournonville, with four other commissioners, was  
 sent to arrest him at the head of the army, and convey  
 him to Paris. They halted at Lisle, and dispatched a  
 summons to him to appear in that city, to answer the  
 charges against him; but he replied he could not  
 leave the army and valued his head too much to sub-  
 mit it to an arbitrary tribunal. The commissioners pro-  
 ceeded to his head quarters at St. Amand, explained the  
 object of their mission, and endeavoured to persuade  
 him to obedience. He attempted to vindicate  
 2d April. his own conduct, and induce them to judge  
 favourably of him; but, at length, finding that he  
 made no impression, exclaimed, "It is time to put an  
 end to this;" and ordered the commissioners to be  
 seized, and sent to the prince de Cobourg as hostages  
 for the royal family.

3d. He passed that night in composing an ad-  
 dress to the army, and other papers. The  
 address producing some favourable appearances in the  
 camp, he returned to St. Amand, and harangued the  
 corps of artillery, who also appeared satisfied; and, to  
 testify his confidence in them, he slept there.

4th. The next morning he left his friend Thouve-  
 not at St. Amand, and departed for Condé; but  
 within



within half a league of the fortress he was met by a messenger from general Neuilly, advising him not to approach, as the garrison was in a state of the utmost fermentation. He had just before met with a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, made no attempt against him; but when they saw him accosted by Neuilly's messenger, they cried, "Stop, stop!" and immediately commenced a pursuit. He mounted a horse belonging to young Egalité, and escaping through a rapid discharge of musketry, crossed the Scheldt, and reached Wickers, whence he continued his route to Bury on foot, and spent the night in digesting the proclamation of the prince de Cobourg, which appeared the next day, together with his own address to the French nation. The proclamation is conceived in manly, liberal, and conciliating terms; but neither that nor the address produced any effect. At day-break, Dumas, escorted by fifty Imperial dragoons, proceeded to the advanced guard of the camp of Maulde, and harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several groupes assembled. He then repaired to St. Amand; but, as he was entering the city, was informed that the corps of artillery had, during the night, risen on their general, and were marching towards Valenciennes. Alarmed at this intelligence, he seized the military chest, and made his escape, accompanied by

general

CH. X.  
1793.

5th.

CH. X. general and colonel Thouvenot, young Egalité, co-  
 1793. lonel Montjoye, the miss Fernigs \*, madame Sillery, and a few other persons of some distinction, and attended by seven hundred horse and eight hundred foot. The military chest was recaptured by the French †.

An event so momentous as the defection of Dumouriez excited great speculations, and a considerable ferment in Paris. Each of the contending factions endeavoured to make use of it against their opponents. When the report of Cambaceres was read, an attempt was made to implicate Danton, who, however, disengaged himself with great dexterity, and rolled back the accusation on the Brissotines. Dumouriez himself had not an advocate or a friend; he was

\* These were two young ladies who joined him at the camp of Maulde, and were his aides-de-camp; they were daughters of a register, who had formerly been a quarter-master of Hussars, and resided at Montagne: the eldest was twenty-two, the youngest seventeen, years of age; both were small, delicate, well educated, and modest. Dumouriez encouraged their ardour, made them march with all the detachments, and frequently published accounts of their conduct, which interested the public in a very great degree; and pleased the convention so much, that they gave them a house. They accompanied the general from Maulde into Champagne, and afterwards into the Low-countries; they were present at the arrestation of the commissioners, and accompanied him in his flight; in consequence of which they were outlawed. Their heroism is extraordinary, the more so as it was not attended with any coarseness of demeanor, and their chastity is unimpeached.

† These events are taken from the Journals and Debates, and from *Mémoires du Général Dumouriez*, année 1793.

unanimously

unanimously declared a traitor to the nation, and outlawed, together with the companions of his flight. CH. X.  
1793.  
The convention set a price on his head, and offered a reward of a hundred thousand crowns (12,500 l.) and a full restoration of property to any emigrant who should destroy him \*.

The flight of Dumouriez soon occasioned the ruin of the infamous Egalité, whose connection with the general was well known; and whose son being a partner in the treason, the father could not hope to escape suspicion. It had been customary with both factions from the first sitting of the convention to

\* The curiosity of the reader to trace the further events which befel this strange character may be gratified in a few words. Unemployed by the allies, he wished to take refuge in Switzerland, but was forbid to enter the country; he then went to Stutgard, and craved an audience of the duke of Wirtemberg, but was commanded to quit his territories. From that place he went to Margentheim in Franconia, professing his intention to live in solitude and write history; but he soon returned to Brussels, and published a proclamation to the French nation, and another to the convention. Foiled in every attempt to appear advantageously on the continent, he visited England, having obtained a passport under the feigned name and character of Peralta, an Italian merchant. On his arrival, 20th June, he wrote to lord Grenville, soliciting, in abject terms, leave to remain near London till the end of the revolution. A polite answer was returned, in which Dumouriez was informed, that his continuance in England could not be permitted, and he remained only one day in London. After staying a few days at Dover, in cautious privacy, he returned to the continent, and has since lived in obscurity, noticed only for a few publications.

mové



CII. X. move for the banishment of all the house of Bourbon;  
1793. and Egalité, divested as he was of property, character,

and every claim to respect, had no longer an advocate or protector. When the conversation

1st April. of Dumouriez with the deputies on mission

was reported, Egalité and Sillery professed their resolutions to imitate the elder Brutus by sacrificing their nearest relatives for the good of the country; but Egalité was nevertheless denounced to the convention,

by La Source, and expelled the jacobin club.

5th. A few days afterwards, he was again indirectly

denounced by Barbaroux, but again escaped

by a little dexterity: at length letters were

7th. read, accusing him of aspiring to the throne after the abolition of royalty; and he and all his

family remaining in France were arrested,

11th. and, for fear of insurrections, imprisoned at Marseilles.

At this time the affairs of France presented an appearance truly alarming: Russia and Spain had joined in declared hostilities; Austria and Prussia were making joint efforts to invade the frontiers; England, besides a considerable land force under the duke of York, and a well-appointed and ever-victorious navy, was employing every effort in the Mediterranean to prevent supplies, and increase the distresses of the country, while an irresistible naval force intercepted the trade, and seized the colonies of the republic. Naples, and several minor states, entered into the  
grand

grand confederacy ; and the principles and conduct of Ch. X.  
1793.  
France excited universal horror abroad, while jealousy, treachery, and cabal, distracted her at home. But before any effectual measures could be adopted for resisting this formidable combination, or for restoring the military power of the country, it was found necessary to terminate the disputes which raged between the two factions in the convention, and which were now inflamed to a degree of rancour which disdained all control, and which nothing could appease but the sacrifice of one of the contending parties.

The wavering and inconsistent conduct of the Girondists on the trial of the king, afforded to the opposing faction many advantages ; and the wire-drawn tenuity of their systems, contrasted with the gross depravity of their political conduct, gave abundant topics for exposing them to censure, ridicule, or abhorrence. Perhaps the faction of Brissot was more extensively popular in the departments than its adversaries ; but these having a complete guidance of the mob in Paris, a decided superiority in the clubs, and a formidable minority in the convention, were always in sufficient force to give alarm, and to hope for ultimate triumph. Their exertions were uniform in object and manner, while the efforts of the Brissotines were divided according to personal circumstances, and enfeebled by particular feelings, and the lassitude, indolence, or timidity, of individuals.

Their

**CH. X.**  
**1793.** Their intrigues were easily detected and exposed; and their best contrivances for augmenting their influence in the departments counteracted, or made to recoil on themselves.

Brissot, rash, vain, and implacable, hastened the decisive contest of the parties, without sufficiently advertent to the circumstances which would have made it prudent in him to evade an instant concussion, and by procrastination afford time for the views of Robespierre and his adherents to unfold themselves. The desperate partisans of the Mountain were in Paris far more numerous than the friends of the right side; those whom a regard for the king might have rendered adverse to Robespierre, were not capable of cordial regard for Brissot, who had precipitated him from the throne, though he afterwards made an indecisive effort to save his life. The influence of the clubs extending itself through the whole municipality, was exerted by filling every office and department with resolute friends of the Mountain; and in a short time the Girondists saw themselves without a resource in Paris, save their own talents in debate, and a precarious majority in the convention.

The declining credit of the duke of Orleans, and the known connection between him and some leading members of the Brissotine party, afforded a great triumph to their opponents: for although many of the Mountain members owed their political existence to the duke, their attachment to him was neither so strict



strict nor so obvious; they had always the power of declaring their intercourse with him at an end, and no possibility existed of proving that it had ever been more intimate than they chose to avow; while Sillery, Buzot, and even Brissot himself, were known to have been in his pay, or to have held offices of responsibility under him.

A plot or conspiracy was formed shortly after the death of the king; and after several delays, a night was fixed for its operation; but its nature, limits, and precise objects, are among the inscrutable mysteries of the revolution. It had some tendency to the advantage of the duke of Orleans; but no one has declared by whom it was conducted, how it was intended to operate, or by what means it failed; its existence and frustration alone were ascertained; and the ready genius and activity of the Mountain turned the incident to advantage. Their orators persuaded the mob that a counter-revolution favourable to royalty was intended; and the consequences were the destruction of Brissot's printing-office, and the suppression of his journal. The Gironde attempted to impute the crime to their opponents, but their rhetoric could not prevail against the clamour and perseverance of their adversaries.

When the right side thought fit to cease preaching blood and anarchy, in order to regain that tranquillity which they deemed necessary to the continuance of their own power, one of their projects for softening the

Ch. X.  
1793.

CH. X. the public mind was the representation of a stage play  
1793. called *L'Ami des Loix* ; whether this piece might have reformed the people or no, could not be ascertained ; but the municipality feeling hurt at some of its passages, prevented the repetition. Brissot and his friends complained with great bitterness, but to little effect ; the prohibitory edict was maintained in defiance of every exertion.

The war between the factions was not confined to violent and acrimonious debates, extending to the extremes of personal insult and violence ; but petitions, remonstrances, and addresses, were daily presented from the departments and the sections, praying for the punishment or advancement of the Brissotines, according to the instructions they had received. Both displayed the acrimony of party, and descended to the greatest meanness of invective. The Mountain petitioners urged every calumny which unrestrained malice could produce ; and the Brissotines, in one of their addresses, were not ashamed to invoke the national vengeance on Marat, because he had been physician to the comte d'Artois. It was found, however, that the petitions in favour of the Mountain were more energetic, more frequent, better attended to by the people, and more relished by the tribunes, than those of their adversaries ; and these were obliged, as a great effort for advancing their cause, and disconcerting their enemies, to institute a criminal process against Marat.

Before

Before the circumstances respecting this trial are related, it is necessary to revert to some other events and establishments on which its result greatly depended. The ministerial party obtained the appointment of a commission of twelve members of the convention, with authorities to enquire into the causes of the projected insurrection on the 10th of March; this was a subject of constant complaint, and of numerous petitions from the adherents of the Mountain, and produced some of the most violent debates in the convention. Danton had, on the other hand, <sup>10th</sup> obtained the establishment of a court, from March. its origin highly popular, and in its duration horribly celebrated, called at first the extraordinary criminal tribunal, and afterwards the revolutionary tribunal; where six judges, a public accuser with two substitutes, twelve permanent salaried jurymen, with three substitutes, sat for the trial “of plots and attempts against the liberty, unity, indivisibility, internal or external safety, of the republic, and of every plan tending to re-establish royalty.” This court was entirely formed of nominees of the Mountain, and maintained its popularity by a devoted subserviency to the views of that party.

While Dumouriez was in the zenith of his reputation, Marat had always been his rancorous assailant; he pursued him with unceasing calumny, and loudly predicted his treachery: he always connected the character of the general with that of the ministers, ac-



CH. X. cusing them all as accomplices in a plot against the  
 1793. republic, and denouncing them as a desperate band of traitors, whose chief aim was to establish Roland in a perpetual dictatorship. When the defection of Dumouriez gave the little incendiary the credit which is often attributed to those political prophets whose conduct hastens or causes the events their pretended sagacity

has discovered, his insolence and ferocity became unbounded. In the violent debate

which ensued on reading the letters of the commissioners who had been sent to examine the facts relative to Dumouriez, Danton declared that no further truce was to be hoped for between the Mountain and their opponents, the patriots and enemies of the country! and Marat did not hesitate to assert his opinion, that three hundred heads of the Girondins must

be sacrificed to liberty and equality. Petion, 9th April.

on behalf of his friends, complained of these violences in vain: the reply of Danton was ready and unanswerable: "Petion is not to learn that when a people destroy monarchy to establish a republic, they exceed prescribed bounds. But in such cases what is the duty of representatives? to take advantage of these very excesses. During the first constituent assembly, Marat was not less than now terrible to aristocrats, and odious to modérés. Yet in that very assembly Marat had his defenders, though he had asserted, as was the fact, that the majority was corrupt."

This

This unsuccessful attempt of Petion was a prelude CH. X.  
 to a more formidable denunciation against the whole 1793.  
 party by Robespierre; who, in a speech of great ability, traced the history of the intrigues of the Brissotine faction, demonstrating their ambition, selfishness, and avarice; accusing them of occasioning the war for factious and selfish purposes, and inferring that in conjunction with Dumouriez, and in alliance with cabinets of the countries at war, they were plotting the ruin of France. This inference, though not supported by fact, was argued with great ingenuity; and the inconsistencies of Brissot furnished abundant theme for making any deductions plausible. Vergniaud and Guadet made eloquent answers to Robespierre, and several members spoke in the debate, which continued three days. Marat in particular was conspicuous for his unrestrained virulence, and his insolence in persisting to gain the tribune in defiance of the exertions of the president to maintain order. 12th.

In the evening sitting Guadet obtained a decree for bringing Marat to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, for having signed as president of the jacobin club an incendiary circular address. This victory, gained after so long and hard a battle, shewed that the Girondins, when united and active, were in formidable force, but they seemed to have lost the intellect requisite for discerning the means of rendering popularity again their own. In the very next sitting, Petion moved to discharge a decree 13th.

CH. X. }  
 1793. } crée which had been issued against Miaczinsky, the  
 confident of Dumouriez, thus affording a new theme  
 for connecting the names of his friends with that of  
 the fugitive; and after an acrimonious debate, the  
 right side were again in a minority.

Nor was their situation rendered more advantageous when the committee of legislation made their report on the accusation of Marat. The paper which constituted the cause of impeachment was vehemently espoused by the most ardent jacobins, who, amidst thunders of applause from the tribunes, offered to sign it themselves, and incur every risk to which the friend of the people was exposed.

Marat did not feel even the temporary inconvenience of confinement; he was suffered by his gaoler to escape, and assured from the authority of his judges themselves that his life was in no danger: he heard

15th April. that the sections of Paris not only espoused his cause, but with more than usual boldness petitioned the convention for the expulsion of twenty-two members, comprising Brissot and the chiefs of his party, and that many of the departments complained to the legislature of the violence sustained

24th. by the friend of the people. His trial was a triumph; no attempt was made to gain a verdict against him; and the moment the jury pronounced him not guilty, he was carried in victorious procession to the convention, reinstated amid universal plaudits, and complimented by Danton, who pronounced



nounced this one of the *beautiful days* of the French revolution \*. CH. X.  
1793.

The petition of the citizens of Paris was discussed with great warmth. La Source, one of those whose expulsion was required, moved that the primary assemblies should be convoked, and the list of the convention submitted to a general scrutiny for the purpose of ascertaining the members who had lost the confidence of the public; and Guadet afterwards moved that the convention should sit at Versailles. These propositions were attended with no other consequence than exciting still greater fury in the people of Paris against those who moved and supported them: the petition was decreed calumnious, but those who presented it were unpunished, and persisted in preparing new addresses.

It would fatigue the reader no less than the historian, to detail all the manœuvres of the two parties during their contest for supreme power; their plots, discoveries, addresses, petitions, denunciations, and recriminations: the general effect was obviously disadvantageous to the Brissotines, who seemed amazed and terrified at seeing the artillery they had used against the king, so unexpectedly turned against themselves. Their panic prevented them from adopting vigorous, or even reasonable, measures: bold and even extravagant speeches were followed by timid votes, or feeble motions; Rebecqui, one of their most con-

\* Biographical Memoirs, article Marat.

CH. X.  
1793. conspicuous adherents, resigned his seat; and all the party, instead of meeting the crisis with boldness and confidence, pursued a mean system of placing spies to watch their opponents, hiring an armed band from Marseilles, and changing their lodgings for fear of being assassinated.

The Mountain, on the contrary, were not only firm and united among themselves, but their petitioners spoke a language which could not fail to produce the desired effect. Between eight and nine  
1st May. thousand sans-culottes from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, attended the convention, calling themselves men of the 5th and 6th of October, the 14th of July, the 20th of June, the 10th of August, and all the days of great crisis; their petition contained many abusive reflections on the Brissotine party, and requisitions of measures of violence and plunder, which they declared necessary for the salvation of the country. "If you will not save the state," said the speaker of the deputation, "we will; we declare ourselves in a state of insurrection, and ten thousand men are at your doors." Although the right side remonstrated with great earnestness against this insolent address, they were obliged to compromise by inviting the parties to the honour of the sitting, and passing to the order of the day on the petition. The Mountain on the  
3d May. contrary sent to prison petitioners who expressed sentiments adverse to their cause\*.

\* See debates, on the days mentioned in the margin.

The scandalous scenes of contention which were daily renewed, converted, according to the expression of Brissot, the hall of the legislature into an arena, and its avenues into ambuscades \*. The Mountain gaining daily ascendancy, the Brissotines were frequently advised to withdraw from the legislature, where an accommodation was impossible, and peace could not be restored on other terms †. They refused this advice, and Brissot, as a last effort to restore the affairs of his party, published his celebrated Address to his Constituents; a work which in almost every passage intended to criminate the author's adversaries, exposes to detestation some principle or act of his own faction: it did no service to his cause, but was answered with great wit and pleasantry by Camille Desmoulins ‡.

As this extraordinary dispute drew towards a crisis, the Mountain gained a new advantage over the Girondins in the nomination of a commander of the national guard: Santerre being sent to head an army in La Vendée, one Boullanger was appointed his successor *ad interim*; but at a critical emergency, Henriot, a more firm friend of the Mountain, obtained the situation, which he retained till his death. The Brissotines procured the arrestation of

CH. X.

1793.

22d May.

17th May.

\* Brissot à ses Commettans.

† See Debates, 17th May.

‡ See Biographical Memoirs, article Brissot.



CH. X. Hebert, the attorney-general of the commune, and

1793. one of their most inveterate opponents ; but this exertion of authority tended as little to their advantage as the proceeding against Marat. Many of the late petitions tended to abolish the committee of Twelve ; their report, however, was first to be made, and the prevention of this attack on the Mountain formed the immediate motive for decisive hostility. Preparations were made on both sides. The council of the commune, and a central committee formed of its most desperate members, were always sitting : the Brissotines pretended to have discovered a plot for assassinating twenty-two of their members ; but their complaints inspired no sensations which could compensate for the

25th May. effect of a ridiculous boast by Isnard, that if the sections violated the dignity of national

representation, by violence against himself or his friends, Paris should be annihilated, and the traveller on the banks of the Seine should lose his time in fruitless enquiries for the place where the city stood. This answer was given by Isnard from the chair as president, where his conduct seems to have been generally violent and injudicious, exasperating to his opponents, prejudicial to his party, and peculiarly offensive to the people of Paris.

31st May. On the day appointed for the discussion

respecting the committee of Twelve, the council-general of the commune assembled at six o'clock, and received from the commissioners of the sections

sections unlimited powers to act for the public good. CH. X.  
1793.  
 The tocsin was immediately sounded, the commandant of the national guard changed, the *générale* beat, and the alarm guns fired. About a hundred members immediately opened the sitting of the convention, and ordered that the mayor and constituted authorities should attend and give an account of the state of Paris. Their account was not satisfactory; and several deputations from different sections, who succeeded them, only certified that great part of the city was in a state of insurrection. On the proposition of Vergniaud, Henriot was ordered to the bar, and the members all swore to die at their post. Rabaud de St. Etienne next began a discussion relative to the committee of Twelve; but terrified by the clamour of the tribunes, and the interruption he encountered, hastily quitted the hall. A new deputation from the commune announced the detection of plots, and declared they had determined to place all property under the safeguard of true republican *sans-culottes*, and that all labourers should receive an allowance of forty sous a-day till the plans of counter-revolutions should be disconcerted.

This strange address could have no other intention than to gain popularity for the commune: but the members of the deputation on their return complained loudly of their cold reception; the evasive answer of the president, and the overbearing insolence of the right side, declared that the majority of the convention  
 was

CH. X. was incapable of saving the country, and the people  
1793. must exert their own resources.

The convention was in this interval engaged in a desultory debate, during which several deputations were admitted, from the administration of the departments, the commune, and the sections, who all concurred in denouncing the committee of Twelve, and requiring that the Brissotine members, as well as the ex-ministers Roland, Le Brun, and Claviere, should be arrested. The hall was surrounded by a body of armed men; and the petitioners, who were admitted, were so numerous that the Mountain members left their seats to the intruders, and sat on the right side. Yet with all this violence no object of the insurrection was gained; no decree was issued to confirm the ascendancy of the left side, save some insidious resolutions made on the motion of Barrere, acknowledging that the sections of Paris had deserved well of the country for the pains they had taken in establishing order, procuring respect for persons and property, and securing the liberty and dignity of the national representation; they were invited to continue their vigilance till assured by the constituted authorities that tranquillity and order were restored, and a place was assigned in the hall for them to maintain constant intercourse with the legislative body.

In the night the city was illuminated, but no tumult took place. The commune, however, encouraged by the timidity of the Brissotines, some of whom never  
appeared



appeared in their places, executed during the night CH. X.  
 their own resolve, which the convention had refused to 1793.  
 sanction, by arresting Le Brun and Roland's wife. Roland had the good fortune to escape, but the others were committed to the Abbaye. This bold proceeding dissipated the little remaining courage of the principal Brissotines; terror, indolence, and irresolution, had long marked their conduct; they now thought only of personal safety, and resolved to escape from Paris, that, by uniting at Bourdeaux or in Calvados, they might "save the country by exciting an insurrection in the departments\*."

The sittings of the ensuing day, both in the convention and commune, commenced at the 1st June.  
 same early hour as before. The legislature devoted the first part of the day to ordinary business; no disposition appeared to renew the tumult of yesterday; and Barrere presented a proclamation to the people of France, in which the late disturbances were treated only as the result of a mistaken eagerness for liberty and good government: the sections were applauded, and the nation assured that, notwithstanding the vigilant exertions of ambition, malevolence, aristocracy, and false patriotism, that day, which had inspired momentary uneasiness, had been propitious in all its results. The convention rose at about five

\* See Louvet's Narrative; Appel à l'impartiale Postérité; Biographical Memoirs, article Robespierre; and Debates.

CH. X. 1793. o'clock in the afternoon \*, without having taken into consideration the petitions of yesterday, a circumstance which served as a pretext for a new insurrection. The efforts of the popular leaders, though continually exerted since six o'clock in the morning, could not stimulate the council to acts of violence; they framed an address so mild, that it was rejected for want of energy; such were their proceedings in three several meetings at six, ten, and one, o'clock.

The committee of public safety, disrelishing this languor in the body from whom they hoped the most, consulted with the mayor, and with Marat, both of whom attended the evening sitting of the commune at five o'clock, and gave a new ferment to their almost exhausted violence. At six the tocsin, the générale, and the alarm guns, announced a revival of insurrection; at nine about a hundred deputies were found in the convention, but they were almost all Mountaineers, and the hall was surrounded by sixty thousand of the revolutionary army, headed by Henriot, provided with cannon, and furnaces for heating shot. Under these formidable auspices, a deputation was introduced, who repeated the complaints of the pre-

\* The time of rising is material, and the *Moniteur* in two pages gives different accounts. The note at the end of the debates says, "the convention rose at seven;" but in the account of transactions in the commune, it says that the legislature had risen at a few minutes after five. The générale certainly beat at six, and then no member was at his post.

ceding day, and required the heads of twenty-seven members. The petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting, and Barrere made an insidious observation, that if he had, like the Brissotines, lost the confidence of the people, he would give in his resignation, and repair to La Vendée to combat the rebels. The hint, however, was not taken, and the convention, after decreeing that the committee of public safety should report on the petition within three days, adjourned at half an hour after midnight.

Such indecisive proceedings were not calculated to satisfy the commune; in the night <sup>2d June.</sup> they arrested Claviere, and on the succeeding day voted a more resolute address to the legislature: "The citizens of Paris," they said, "have been four days under arms, and the deputies against whom they have raised their voice in favour of the violated rights of man, laugh at their temperance and perseverance; the torch of liberty grows pale; the pillars of equality are shaken, vice triumphs, virtue is oppressed, counter-revolutionists raise their audacious heads, but let them tremble, the thunder growls, and will speedily pulverise them. We come *for the last time*, to ask for justice on the guilty: decree instantly that they are unworthy the confidence of the nation; arrest them; and we will answer for the departments. The people are tired of seeing their welfare perpetually adjourned; save then the people, or they will save themselves."

The convention was again surrounded with an armed



CH. X. armed force ; the petition was delivered in the midst  
1798. of a tumultuous debate ; the president reproached the

deputation for their want of respect for the legislature ; Billaud de Varennes and Tallien moved to refer the petition to the committee of public safety, with orders to present an immediate report, but this proposition was changed for an order to the committee to attend the convention with an account of the measures they were preparing for the emergency. While this resolution was agitated, the avenues to the hall were guarded by a mob of men and women, who would not suffer the deputies to go out ; and the women in the galleries armed with poinards, threatened many of those who were most obnoxious.

Barrere, at length, appeared from the committee of public safety, and proposed that the members who had been denounced by the department of Paris should voluntarily suspend their functions. Isnard, Lanthenas, Fauchet, and Duffaulx, immediately declared their assent, but Lanjuinais and Barbaroux refused to divest themselves of the trust reposed in them by the people : they had sworn to die at their post, and would not falsify their oath. Their reasoning was so cogent that had they not been left unsupported by the greater orators of their party, who had already fled, their cause would probably have triumphed. Even Marat opposed the voluntary suspension, because it gave the Brissotines the credit of devoting themselves to the good of their country, and he  
objected

objected to the petition; he could not conceive how the names of Fermond and Valazé could be omitted, or how the citizens of Paris could designate to vengeance Duffaulx, an old dotard, Lanthenas, a poor-spirited creature unworthy of a thought, and Ducos, whose only fault was the maintaining of some erroneous, but not criminal opinions, and who could in no wise be considered as a chief of the counter-revolutionary party. Billaud de Varennes moved the order of the day on Barrere's proposition; and a decree of accusation, by *appel nominal*, against thirty members; but the debate on this new proposition was interrupted by complaints of the members that they were confined in their hall by the mob and the military. Henriot was ordered to the bar, but he answered that when he had obeyed the commands of the sovereign people, he should be at leisure to attend the dictates of their representatives: his cannoneers stood with lighted matches, and the muzzles of their artillery pointed against the hall of the legislature; Danton was indignant at the insult, and several deputies protested against any further debate, as liberty was at an end. Barrere, with his usual cunning, evaded this rational determination by an expedient which satisfied the assembly: "Let us prove," he said, "that we are free. I move that the convention shall go and deliberate amidst the armed force, which will doubtless protect them." The legislators sallied out, and having

CH. X. having made a circuit of the garden (though a triple  
 1793. line of soldiers prevented their passing a step farther), returned to the hall amid the applauses of the mob. They then passed a decree of arrestation against the members who were denounced, and all the committee of Twelve, excepting Fonfrede and St. Martin, who were spared on the motion of Legendre, and the three deputies whose imbecility had been pleaded by Marat. The list then consisted of twenty-one names\*. The arrest of the ministers Claviere and Le Brun was also decreed. The deputies were not ordered to prison, but to be in a state of arrestation at their own abodes; the commune offering to give an equal number of their members as hostages to the departments: this point being obtained, the insurrection was ended†.

Some of the deputies who were placed under arrest having made their escape, and many others having fled from Paris to raise insurrections in the departments, those who still remained, or could be secured, were taken into close custody. Brissot had attempted to leave the kingdom with a false passport, but he was arrested and confined with the others; and seventy-

\* To wit, Genfonné, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gorsas, Pétion, Salles, Chambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, Rabaud, La Source, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve Le Sage (d'Eure et Loire), Louvet (de Loire), Valazé, Doulcet, Lidon, and Lehardi.

† Biographical Memoirs, article Robespierre, and the debates.



three members, who subscribed a protest against the proceedings of the day, were regarded with peculiar malevolence, and afterwards deprived of their seats, and imprisoned\*.

\* See the Protest in Miss-Williams's Letters, published 1795, vol. I. p. 259. ; and *Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté*, vol. XIII.

## CHAP. XI.

*Insubordination of the Armies—Dampierre succeeds Dumouriez—Condé blockaded—Intrenchments of St. Amand forced—Dampierre killed—Succeeded by Custine—The Camp of Famars taken—The Dutch defeated near Turcoing—Siege of Valenciennes formed—The French surprise and plunder Furnes—They are defeated at Ypres—Surrender of Condé—Progress of the Siege of Valenciennes—Its Surrender—Effects of these Events in Paris—Imprisonment of the English residing there—The King of Prussia besieges Landau and Mentz—The Siege of Landau converted into a Blockade—The French plunder Arlon—Siege and Capitulation of Mentz—Custine thrown into Prison—Reluctance of Spain to declare War—The French commence Hostilities—Don Ricardos captures St. Laurent and Bellegarde—And besieges Perpignan—Skirmishes in the Western Pyrenées—The Spaniards obtain several Successes—The French burn Zugurramurdy—And plunder Lussaide—The Spaniards storm the Camp at Château Pignon—Slight Exploits of the Armies of the Alps and Italy—Symptoms of Insurrection in many Parts of the Republic—Origin of Discontents in La Vendée—Rapid Success of the Insurgents—They take  
Fontenay*

*Fontenay—Efforts and Disappointment of the fugitive Brissotines at Caen—Further Proceedings of the Insurgents in La Vendée—They fail before Nantes—Slight Successes of the Republicans under Biron and Westermann—Followed by a total Defeat—Great prosperity of the Insurgents—Transactions at Lyons—Challier and Riaud sentenced to Death by the Insurgents—Insurrection at Marseilles—Speedily suppressed—Lord Hood appears in the Mediterranean—Negociates for, and obtains the Surrender of Toulon—Tobago, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and Part of St. Domingo, taken by the English—Pondicherry and other Places in India taken—A new Constitution formed—Observations on it—Its Acceptance celebrated by a Fête—Its Operations suspended—Powers of the Committee of Public Safety—System of Terror—Rigour against suspected Persons—All Englishmen and Subjects of hostile Nations arrested—The Revolutionary Tribunal divided into four Sections—Indignities offered to the Royal Family—The Queen separated from the Dauphin, who is placed under the Tuition of Simon, a Cobler—The Queen removed to the Conciergerie—Her Trial and Execution—Persecution of the Brissotines—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Her Execution—Excessive Honours paid to him—Further Proceedings of the fugitive Brissotines—Their Dispersion and Fate—Proceedings against those confined in Paris—Their Trial—Condemnation—And Execution—Trial and Execution of Egalité—Of Rabaud St. Etienne—Ma-*



*nuel and others—Le Brun executed—Claviere and his Wife kill themselves—Madame Roland imprisoned and executed—Her Husband commits Suicide—Execution of Barnave and Bailly.*

CH. XI.

1793.

THE victory over the Brissotines, if attended with abundant motives of exultation, was not without many circumstances of alloy. The armies, of which there were ten, were infected with the spirit of insubordination and licentiousness; hosts of women followed the camps, and their wants were multiplied, while their powers of enduring or relieving them were daily decreasing. The convention issued decrees, compelling the women to quit the armies, and adopted measures for recruiting and supplying the troops; but these were not put into their utmost activity till the powers of government became more confirmed, and the success of the allies in every quarter sanctioned measures, however violent, tending to repel them.

The united armies of the North and Ardennes were thrown into confusion and dismay by the defection of Dumouriez, in consequence of which numerous desertions ensued. Dampierre succeeded him; several proclamations were issued, inculpating or justifying the arrest of the commissioners; and the convention directed one very strongly composed against the treason of Dumouriez, and the injustice, as well as impolicy, of which the allies were guilty in protecting him, and taking into custody the commissioners of the convention.

CH. XI.  
1793.

convention. Meanwhile the allies were preparing, according to a plan arranged at Antwerp, for the invasion of France, but their rapid progress through Flanders rendered some delay necessary. They now occupied the strong post of Maulde, formed the blockade of Condé, and prepared to besiege Valenciennes; while the French made every exertion for resistance, and passed many decrees for supplying their armies with speed proportioned to the exigency.

7th April.

9th April.

Dampierre was encamped near Bouchain, but the allies, having declared the truce terminated, intercepted all intercourse with Condé and Quesnoy; several skirmishes ensued for the purpose of opening these communications, in which the French were constantly worsted, and compelled, at length, to retreat under the walls of Valenciennes. One of these attacks was made in the neighbourhood of the abbaye de Vigogne, on the intrenchments of St. Amand, in which the French were defeated with great loss, and general Dampierre received a mortal wound\*. In this affair the English troops, under the duke of York, second son of George III. and a favourite pupil of the illustrious Frederick king of Prussia, made their first essay in the field, and their gallant behaviour was highly extolled by all the allies.

8th May.

\* He was buried in the camp of Famars, and a monument, with suitable inscriptions, erected to his memory.

CH. XI.

1793.

On the death of Dampierre, Custine was called from the army of the Rhine to succeed him, and great hopes were entertained from his experience and love of discipline, though the furious members of the jacobin party damped these expectations by their accus-

23d. tomed means of libels and declamations. Before his arrival, the allies had, by a judiciously

combined movement, expelled the French from their strong camp of Famars, which was carried by main force, and under numerous disadvantages; the action was extremely hot, and the valour of the British troops was again the theme of deserved commendation, no less than the generosity of all the allies, in respecting the monument to the memory of Dampierre. The French now retreated, leaving Condé and Valenciennes to their fate, and consoling themselves with a

24th. slight advantage gained over the Dutch troops, who, advancing from their camp at Menin, were successfully encountered near Bourbeck, Boucq, and Turcoing.

The siege of Valenciennes and investment of Condé being regularly formed, numerous sallies,

1st June. skirmishes, and affairs of posts, ensued;

the most distinguished of which was the surprise of Furnes, by five thousand French, who, after compelling twelve hundred Dutch to retreat, though in good order, and with all their artillery, plundered the town, and carried off the magistracy



as hostages for a contribution. The Dutch were revenged for this disgrace, by surrounding a body of French near Ypres, in which they finally succeeded, though in the course of the engagement the Prince de Waldeck received a mortal wound. 11th.

In defence of Condé, the French cut the dykes, but the engineers of the besieging army prevented the expected effects of inundation. The blockade was rigorously maintained, and the garrison, being reduced to the utmost difficulties for food, devouring even carrion, and many noxious aliments, called a council of war, and, after some negotiation, surrendered the town to the imperial troops under the prince of Wirtemberg: the garrison yielded themselves prisoners of war; the officers were allowed their parole, and permitted to retain their swords. 10th July. 13th.

General Ferrand, who commanded at Valenciennes, when summoned by the duke of York, answered, "That rather than capitulate, he would bury himself under the ruins of the works." The batteries having reduced the principal parts of the town to ashes, the inhabitants besought the general to surrender, but he told them in a proclamation, that he would not at their request betray the nation, and carry his own head to the scaffold; and threatened, on the least appearance of tumult, to resort to the extremes of military rigour. The fall of Condé 21st June.

## CH. XI.

1793.

Condé having enabled the allies to direct a greater portion of their force against Valenciennes, they carried on their operations with so much success, that half the garrison had perished, the artillery was dismounted, the fortifications destroyed, and breaches made in the wall of sufficient magnitude to admit the passage even of cavalry. The mines were sprung with success, and the duke of York, attacking the horn-work, made himself master of the

25th July.

mines of the besieged, and discovering a subterraneous passage, made a secure lodgment in the works. To prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, the British commander again summoned the general and the municipality; terms of capitulation

28th.

were at length arranged; the garrison were permitted to return to France, on condition of not serving against the emperor or his allies till exchanged; and possession was taken of the town in the name of the emperor, whose arms were immediately substituted for those of the Republic.

The intelligence of this event occasioned great consternation at Paris, where gross calumnies were invented against the English; a forged correspondence was produced, pretended to have been found in an ensign's port-folio, and decrees issued, tending to the oppression and imprisonment of all subjects of George III. whom an indiscreet curiosity, or an absurd hope of enjoying superior liberty, had tempted to reside in France.

During

During these transactions, the king of Prussia, prince CH. XI.  
Hohenloe, and general Wurmser, were besieging 1793.  
Landau and Mentz. Before he quitted the army of  
the Rhine and Moselle, Custine had adopted vigorous  
and judicious measures for defending these places,  
having taken a position at Weissenberg, which was  
generally acknowledged to be a master-piece of mili-  
tary skill; and his last act of command was 17th May.  
a spirited though unsuccessful attack on all  
the posts of the invaders. Houchard succeeded  
Custine, though avowedly incompetent to the com-  
mand, which was therefore again divided, 12th June.  
the army of the Moselle being given to  
Alexander Beauharnois, while Houchard retained  
that of the Rhine. The French made a successful  
attack on general Schröder, and plundered 7th June.  
the town of Arlon; Beauharnois too ob-  
tained some slight successes, when the Prussians finding  
they could make no effectual impression on Landau,  
converted the siege into a blockade.

Mentz was attacked with more success; the May.  
trenches were opened under the inspection of  
the king of Prussia. The approaches were delayed not  
only by sallies from the besieged garrison, but from  
those of Kostheim and Albanus. The operations were,  
however, continued, and the bombardment destroyed  
the church of Notre Dame, and many principal build-  
ings; the fortifications were set on fire, the redoubt  
of



CH. XI.  
1793.

7th July. of Zahlback surpris'd, the post of Kostheim taken, and at length, after living two months under an arch of fire, the governor was compelled to capitulate. The terms were remarkably moderate, the garrison being allowed to retire into France with the honours of war, their colours, arms, and baggage, on condition of not serving against the king of Prussia, or his allies, *for the space of one year*.  
22d July. The convention, pursuing their usual course, threw into prison the commander at Mentz, and all his staff, together with general Custine, though he had been long removed from the army; they were all, however, liberated, except Custine\*.

Spain reluctantly engaged in hostilities with France, though urged by every motive of policy, and every consideration of family alliance. The insults offered by the convention to his most catholic majesty on his intercession for Louis XVI., and all the violence adopted by that body, excited but tardy resentment, attended with a constant dread that the neutrality of England would be more prejudicial to Spain than the encroachment of France. The national convention first  
7th March. declared hostilities, though evidently unprepared for the contest. The natives of France were in consequence expelled from Spain, and their property sequestered; armies were  
23d. equipped on the frontier, and fleets were

\* The events are principally derived from the *Moniteur* and the *London Gazette*.

prepared at Ferrol, Carthagena, and Cadiz. The convention decreed the levy of a hundred thousand men to defend the frontier from Bayonne to Perpignan, but such a force could not be suddenly obtained, and they commenced, in an unprepared state, a campaign in two branches, called <sup>20th April.</sup> those of the eastern and western Pyrenées. CH. XI.  
1793.

On the east side, Don Ricardos, the Spanish general, with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, sweeping before him the slight obstacles raised by generals Vilotte and Gauthier, entered the French territory, and laid siege to Perpignan. The French changed and superseded their generals, without altering their fortune; while Ricardos captured St. Laurent, which opened a communication by sea with Sardinia; and Bellegarde, which fell after a bombardment of thirty-four days, placed <sup>25th June.</sup> Perpignan itself in the most imminent danger.

On the western side, the French directed their chief efforts to the defence of the vallies of Ossau and Aspe, though no considerable hostilities took place at those points. About four hundred national guards injudiciously posted at La Caze de <sup>1st July.</sup> Broffet, in the vale of Ossau, were surrounded and cut to pieces, and the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Roncal and Salazar, after some slight skirmishes, burnt the village of St. Engrace.

Great exertions were made to defend the passages,  
by

CH. XI.

1793.

March.

by St. Jean Pié de Port. The French army, commanded by Duverger, and in subordination to him by Remier and Lagenetierre, amounted to eight thousand men. The left division of this army was not yet arrived; the right was divided into three camps; the first placed near the village of Hendaye, whence it annoyed the shores of the Bidassoa, having on its right the fort of Hendaye, in front a height which bore the name of *Le Café Républicain*, and on the left the mountain called after Louis XIV., with a battery of six large cannon. A second camp was at Jolimont, and a third at Sare, opposite to the Spanish village of Zugurramurdy. The Spaniards possessed all the tops of the mountains, and thirty thousand men, with a numerous artillery, were assembled under don Ventura Caro. Though this general had received orders to remain strictly on the defensive, he resolved to profit by the injudicious position of the enemy, and therefore destroyed the battery on the

23d April. mountain of Louis XIV., made a spirited attack on Hendaye, and, repassing the Bidassoa, regained his former position without loss.

Duverger was immediately removed from the command, and sent under arrest to Paris; Dartigoyte, who succeeded him, *ad interim*, plundered and burnt Zugurramurdy; but on the

30th April. morrow the Spaniards were avenged by storming and burning the camp of Sare, which the French evacuated



cuated with precipitation. Servan, the ex-minister, now assuming the command, evacuated Hendaye and Jolimont, and formed a camp at Bidart. He employed his time in perfecting discipline, and, when enabled by reinforcements, judiciously extended his positions, drawing by degrees his main force from Bidart to the heights of Bourdagain, Cantarabita, the strait of Oletta, and Urrugne.

2d May.

CH. XI.

1793.

On the side of St. Jean Pié de Port, the Spaniards were repulsed in several attacks, and the French pillaged the village of Lussaide. The force of the French in this quarter was augmented by an independent company of troops called du Louvre, and by ten companies of Biscayan chasseurs, a body of men remarkable for intrepid courage and daring activity, the detestation and terror of the Spaniards. The French had, however, in their usual injudicious manner, scattered their force to maintain a great number of positions; the Spaniards, after several unsuccessful attempts, compelled them to evacuate the Aldudes, and subsequently all the straits of the mountain, took their camp at Château Pignon, and pent them up in St. Jean Pié de Port, whence general Dubouquet, who commanded, would not lead them to any distant enterprise, but employed his time in teaching them military tactics, and strengthening his position \*.

April.

27th May.

June.

The

\* The account of the campaign in the eastern Pyrenées is collected from the *Moniteur*, and periodical publications; that in the western

## CH. XI.

1793.

The armies of the Alps and Italy performed in this period no conspicuous exploits. Kellerman, who at first commanded, was superseded by Brunet. A Spanish fleet approaching, which was expected to co-operate with the Piedmontese in expelling the French from the county of Nice, Brunet gained possession of several heights, but failed in all his attempts to possess himself of Raous, against which his principal efforts were directed. In his second and third assaults on this point, and that of Authion, he was driven into the vallies with great loss, and pursued by the victorious Sardinians to his intrenchments\*.

The remaining armies of the republic were employed in opposing the insurrections in various parts of the country, a task which they could not effect without large draughts from the armies of the Alps and Italy. Before the flight of the Brissotines, many indications of revolt had appeared in several departments; and it was not doubted, that the presence of these deputies would extend the flame, and direct its operations against the capital. Ain and Marseilles had presented strenuous complaints against the course of proceedings; the people of Lyons, irritated by the jacobin missionaries, who plundered and insulted them without remorse, had risen in arms, and rescued them-

western Pyrenées from *Mémoires sur la dernière Guerre entre la France et l'Espagne, par le Citoyen B* \* \* \* \*.

\* From the *Moniteur* and periodical works.

selfes

selves from their oppressors ; Orleans had been simi- CH. XI.  
 larly stimulated into opposition; though still unequal 1793,  
 to the task of resistance ; Nantes and Amiens had made  
 strenuous declarations in favour of the Brissotines ;  
 Bourdeaux, the capital of the Gironde, professed warm  
 adherence to their cause, and several neighbouring  
 departments were known to favour the same senti-  
 ments \*.

These efforts were, however, of small import, com-  
 pared to the insurrection commonly called the War  
 of La Vendée, though its seat was not confined to  
 the department properly called by that name, but  
 extended over those of Les deux Sevres, La Loire in-  
 férieure, Mayenne, and Mayne et Loire. It exhibit-  
 ed the unusual and interesting sight of peaceable, re-  
 ligious people, animated by their love for the altar  
 and the throne, braving every danger, and encoun-  
 tering every difficulty, to retain to themselves the  
 rights of worship, and the freedom of acknowledging  
 no other lords than those who had so long contributed  
 to their happiness, and towards whom they felt an  
 undiminished attachment. The first decrees of the  
 constituent assembly against nobles and priests had  
 excited the indignation of these virtuous people ; they  
 were further irritated by the intolerance of the demo-  
 crats, and prepared for resistance to oppression, and  
 for supporting the rights of their sovereign, and the

\* Moniteur ; Journals of the Convention ; and Prud'homme,  
 vol. V. *passim*.



CH. XI. nobility. At the period of the king's flight, they prepared to tender their assistance, but his arrest frustrated their zealous intentions. Their discontents were inflamed by the persecution of the non-juring clergy, to whom they constantly afforded shelter and assistance, refusing to admit or communicate with those who took the oaths. The national assembly had placed Dumouriez at Fontenaye-le-comte, afterwards Fontenay-le-peuple, as military commandant, and Genfonné and Gallois were deputed as commissioners to collect information; the result of their joint opinion was, that the people might easily be kept in tranquillity, by a small share of moderation\*.

The lesson of moderation was not to be taught to the legislative assembly, of which Genfonné was returned a member; and the repeated persecutions of the priests, and the murder of Louis XVI. impelled the quiet industrious inhabitants of these regions to commence one of the most bloody and obstinate civil

10th March. wars ever recorded. Armed at first only with pitchforks, staves, and implements of husbandry, they attacked the municipality, recovered the arms of which they had been deprived, and, displaying the white flag, declared themselves a royal and catholic army.

Their first successes surpassed all expectation; with incredible rapidity they made themselves masters of Machecoul, Legé, Clifton, Montaigu, St. Fulgent,

\* Life of Dumouriez, vol. II. p. 144.

Les Herbiers, Mortagne, Tiffanges, Beaupréau, St. Florent, Chalonnès, Chollet, Maulevrier, Chatillon, and various other towns. In all these places they obtained great numbers of recruits; and, what was of equal importance, arms and ammunition. Having divided their force into several bodies of ten or twelve thousand men, they made successful attacks in various points, and were joined by great reinforcements of priests, nobles, mal-contents of every class, French and foreign deserters, gamekeepers, smugglers, and great numbers of servants left without employ by the emigration of their masters; in short, by all whom principle or lack of advancement rendered dissatisfied with the revolution.

The convention, deceived by false reports, treated them at first as a handful of brigands; but repeated intelligence of their successes, which extended even to several strong and populous cities, altered that rash opinion, especially when, after a long series of victories, Fontenay, the capital of La Vendée, fell into their hands\*.

Such was the state of these departments, when the Mountain triumphed over their opponents. Though Brissot was arrested, and the other deputies who had been placed under a guard in their own houses were sent to prison, several still remained concealed in the city and suburbs. Buzot, Barbaroux, Gorsas, Louvet, Guadet, Petion, Salle, Cussy, Lefage, Bergoing,

\* Journals; Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée, par Turreau.

Cn. XI. Giroust, Meillant, Girey-Dupré, Riouffe, Lanjuinais, 1793. Valadi, Larivière, Duchatel, Kervelegan, and Mollevant, repaired to Caen, where general Felix Wimpfen commanded the army of the coasts of the Channel, and was secretly labouring for the restoration of royalty. The fugitives were, however, rather bent on restoring their own influence than any general view or system of conduct, and commenced a series of intrigues against Wimpfen, who regarded them with suspicion and distrust. When, therefore, a body of eighteen hundred men, raised by the convention, had taken possession of Vernon, Wimpfen took no measures to surprise them, but suffered an expedition, apparently framed for that purpose, to miscarry, fortified himself in Caen, and proposed opening a communication with England; while the ruling party, no longer apprehending any danger from his efforts, outlawed and deposed him from his command, although they could not yet put the decrees against him in execution for want of sufficient forces\*.

Meanwhile the insurgents of La Vendée were pursuing their advantages. Having captured Thouars, they evacuated Fontenay, and pressed towards Saumur; at Doué they defeated general Ligonier, who was then displaced, and Menou appointed his  
9th June. successor, who, with no greater judgment or success, vainly endeavoured to defend Saumur. The

\* See Louvet's Narrative, where these transactions are related at length.



insurgents then crossed the Loire, took Angers, threatened Tours and Mans, and laid siege to Nantes. The convention, alarmed at these rapid conquests, used every exertion to reinforce their armies, and the Vendéans were disappointed in not being joined by many recruits on this side the Loire. They were repulsed in their attack on Nantes, though a place of no great strength, and general Canclaux gained great honour by his judicious conduct of the defence.

CH. XI.  
1793.

General Biron was now called from the army of Italy, to head the war against the insurgents of La Vendée: seeking to signalise himself by rapid conquests, he surprised the château of Lescure, one of the royalist leaders, at Parthenay; he then captured the town of Amaillon, which he permitted his troops to plunder, and reduced that and the château de Lescure to ashes. Westermann, the second in command, made similar ravages at Bressuire, and burnt the château of Laroche Jaquelin, another chief of the insurgents; promising to capture the towns of Chatillon and Chollet, and finally to exterminate the rebels. He succeeded indeed in taking Chatillon, but was surrounded by the insurgents, his infantry cut to pieces, his artillery taken, and himself escaped with great difficulty, attended by his cavalry. The republican generals now meditated a general attack on the insurgents, entered La Vendée by the bridges of Cé, and encamped at

29th.

1st July.

2d.

CH. XL Martigné Briand. Here they were attacked by forty  
 1793. 15th July. thousand men, whom, however, they re-  
 pulsed, but immediately began a retreat to-

wards Montaigu. In their march they were constant-  
 ly harassed by large parties, and, when fatigued with  
 18th. three days' progress, attacked by fifty thousand  
 men, who routed and drove them in disorder  
 across the country in every direction; so great was  
 the panic, that even arms, knapsacks, and accoutre-  
 ments, were thrown away as impediments to speed;  
 some fled into almost all the neighbouring towns, and  
 some even to Paris; so that their generals attempting,  
 three days after the engagement, to make a muster at  
 Chinon, could find only four thousand men.

While the main body of the royal and catholic  
 army was thus engaged, that of the Lower Poitou,  
 commanded by Charrette, occupied the whole coun-  
 try which separates Nantes from the Sables. Many  
 petty skirmishes took place, in which success was di-  
 vided; but when Canclaux had saved Nantes, he no  
 longer suffered his army to waste their strength in small  
 expeditions, but contented himself with preserving and  
 fortifying his positions. The affairs of the insurgents  
 were now in their highest state of prosperity: their  
 chiefs issued a wise and moderate proclamation, in the  
 name of Louis XVII.; many emigrants quitted the  
 frontiers of Holland and Germany to join the de-  
 fenders of the altar and throne, and many more were  
 waiting to join them at Jersey and Guernsey; their  
 partisans

partisans grew daily more numerous, and encouraged the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success \*. CH. XI.  
1793.

Not less inauspicious was the aspect of affairs at Lyons; the convention opposed the late transactions by decrees, and sent Albitte and Dubois Crancé as missionaries of authority and vengeance; but Chaffey and Biroteau, two of the fugitive members, excited the people to arms by a proclamation. These treacherous and foolish agents, instead of making this great city the centre of opposition, and rallying their strength around them, precipitately fled, leaving the deluded Lyonese to their fate. The people were not, however, discouraged; they convoked the national guards in their *arrondissement* to celebrate a Lyonnese confederation, and sentenced to death Challier, one of their principal persecutors, and Riaud, who had commanded a military force against them. They established a committee of public safety, raised an army of thirty thousand men, which was commanded by Précý, an old disbanded officer, and issued a paper currency for their own department. In all these proceedings, however, they professed themselves strictly republican, and made no declaration in favour of the throne.

The people of Marseilles also renounced the authority of the convention, forcibly shut up the jacobin club, and raised a military body; several neighbouring towns espoused their cause, the co-operation of

\* Journals; Turreau.



CH. XI. more was expected, and schemes were agitated for  
 1793. organising a force to march to Paris. This insurrec-

25th tion was, however, soon subdued by general  
 August. Carteaux, who, by intrigue rather than force,  
 obtained admission into the city, and superseded all  
 authorities except that of the convention\*.

At this period lord Hood, who had been dispatch-  
 ed with a powerful fleet from England, appeared off  
 Marseilles, but too late to prevent the surrender. He  
 then repaired to Toulon, where negotiations were  
 opened for putting the port, town, and fleet, under

23d his protection: the British admiral conciliated  
 August. the inhabitants by several judicious proclama-  
 tions, proposing, as his ultimate aim, the restoration  
 of royalty; and he sent on shore Mr. Cook, a lieute-  
 nant in the fleet, to arrange all points by personal con-

ference. Lord Hood was reinforced by a  
 25th. Spanish squadron under rear-admiral Gravina;  
 and Langara, the commander in chief of the Spanish  
 fleet, afterwards joined him. The sections at length  
 determined on acceding to his propositions, proclaim-  
 ed Louis XVII. and swore no longer to endure the  
 despotism of the tyrants who governed France. Ad-  
 miral St. Julien, being a strenuous republican, was  
 allowed four disarmed ships of the line to transport  
 himself and so many of his crew as would not swear  
 the oath of adherence to royalty to other ports; and

\* Journals; Prud'homme, vol. V.

lord Hood, taking peaceable possession, issued another proclamation, declaring that he held Toulon only in trust for Louis XVII. The convention heard the event with surprise and indignation, and endeavoured, by additional untruths, and by violent proclamations, to exasperate the people against the English nation \*.

CH. XI.  
1793.

While such was the state of affairs in Europe, the French were equally exposed to injury and loss in their colonies. The insurrections of the negroes had done great injury to their West-India islands, and compelled most of the planters to emigrate. A British force from St. Kitt's and Barbadoes took Tobago; St. Pierre and Miquelon were captured by brigadier-general Ogilvie; an expedition against Martinique was unsuccessful, but a part of the valuable colony of St. Domingo was surrendered by the royalists to the troops of Great Britain. Guadaloupe and the other islands were a prey to the fury of the people of colour.

Intelligence of hostilities being speedily conveyed to India, an expedition was undertaken against Pondicherry, which, after some resistance, surrendered to colonel Braithwaite. Chandernagore, with the other French factories in Bengal, Karical, Yanam, and Fort Mahé, were also captured, and the French were thus deprived of all

\* Journals; Rose's Naval History of the War.

their

CH. XI. their possessions in Bengal, and on the coast of Ma-  
 1793, labar \*.

While the arms of the republic were thus generally unsuccessful, the legislature was not unmindful of the great duty of framing a constitution; even during the late ardent contentions it had been a frequent sub-

12th Feb. ject of debate, and Condorcet had produced a declaration of the rights of man, which was

generally reprobated as too metaphysical for use, and too refined for general comprehension. After the expulsion of the Brissotines, all parties concurred in demanding from the convention the completion of the new code; the friends of the triumphant party hoping to limit the attention of the public to that object, and their enemies expecting to embarrass them by a popular requisition, which it would be impossible to fulfil without creating new schisms, or endangering their newly acquired authority. The committee of public safety, however, fulfilled the hopes of their

10th June. adherents, and disappointed the expectations of their enemies, by producing, with astonishing speed, a constitutional act, which, after

24th. some warm discussions, was finally extended into a complete republican code; and, being preceded by a declaration of rights, was formally recognised by the convention as the future charter of freedom for the country. The acceptance of this constitution by the people in primary assemblies was

\* Gazettes.



rapid and general, and gave great additional strength to government, whose agents were active in exciting alarms among the people that attempts would be made to overthrow the new system, which was to secure their happiness in all future ages. CH. XI.  
1793.

Reviewing the constitution of 1793 with candour, and allowing for the principle on which it was formed, that of establishing a republic with a perpetual vigilance in the cause of liberty, and a continual jealousy of every establishment and influence tending to encroach on the general freedom, it cannot but be allowed that the code was liberal, though the first principles were not wise. The declaration of the rights of man decreed by the constituent assembly was enlarged and explained, and all its absurdities admitted as the basis of the social compact, but some of its postulata were wise, liberal, and undeniable. The rights of citizenship, the sovereignty of the people, and the right of universal suffrage, were established on the wildest democratic principles, and the modes of electing representatives were childish and frivolous. The functions of the legislative body were compounded of those which properly belong to a senate and those which ought ever to be reserved for an executive power; and the legislative council or committee of twenty-one, formed by the constitution for carrying on the general purposes of government, was fettered by too many restrictions, and guarded with too much jealousy, to act with vigour, security, or safety. The  
modes

CH. XI. modes of dispensing civil and criminal justice appear  
 1793. in every view disqualified for their professed purposes, forming neither popular nor legal tribunals, but courts wherein lawyers could not plead to advantage, nor yet could the judges or juries decide on certain or respectable grounds. In general, however, the errors of this constitution seem to have arisen from the nature of the society for which it was formed, a new republic; and are universally marked with an eagerness to prevent the fetters of slavery from being introduced under any form. For this purpose the army was regarded with the utmost jealousy; all the French were declared soldiers; there was no generalissimo; all distinctive marks and subordination were to cease with the actual service, and no armed body was allowed to deliberate. To all Frenchmen the constitution guaranteed equality, liberty, property, the public debt, free exercise of worship, a common instruction, public succours, the indefinite liberty of the press, the right of petition, of meeting in popular societies, and the enjoyment of all the rights of man\*.

10th The day on which royalty was overthrown,  
 August. was selected for a fête in honour of the new code, which was contrived by David the painter, and celebrated with many ridiculous circumstances by the whole legislative body, and all the people in the metropolis. This fête was, however, the only me-

\* See this constitution at length in all periodical publications.

morial left to France of the existence of such  
 a constitution, since its operation was the next  
 day decreed to be suspended till all the communes in  
 France, forty-four thousand in number, should present  
 a table of their population with remarks, to serve as  
 the basis of a new election. In fact, it was judged  
 impossible to dissolve the convention in the present  
 juncture, or to expose the public safety to all the mis-  
 chiefs arising from the intrigues attending the forma-  
 tion of a new government. In the course of the year,  
 when the powers of the ruling party grew more con-  
 firmed, they obtained a new decree, rendering  
 the committee of public safety the possessor or  
 arbiter of all the property and personal liberty in the  
 realm ; and this extensive power was granted without  
 even a reference to the people in primary assemblies.

The committee of public safety, in which  
 such extensive authorities were vested, was  
 created by a recent decree of the convention ; its  
 functions were by numerous edicts enlarged, till at  
 length it acquired all the authorities and patronage  
 comprised in every department. Its number, after  
 many fluctuations, was fixed at ten ; the members  
 were re-eligible ; and, at the end of the year, the fol-  
 lowing persons formed the committee, and continued  
 in power for a considerable time : Barrere, Billaud de  
 Varennes, Carnot, Collot d'Herbois, C. A. Prieur,  
 Robert Lindet, Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just, and  
 Jean Bon Saint André. Under this government was

carried

Ch. XI.  
 1793.



CH. XI. carried to the utmost extent the system appropriately  
 1793. called that of terror, in which it was proposed that fear should alone influence the conduct of each individual; that life should be always at stake, and reward never expected. The crime of being *suspected*, first denounced by the legislative assembly against the emigrants, was now applied to every political act, and even forbearing to act in a political capacity was by several decrees rendered a crime. A general inquisition was established, under the severity of which every exertion, however innocent, even the applauding a passage in a play, was made a cause of imprisonment, with a probability of public execution. These decrees, which were constantly renewed, with augmented severities, filled the prisons with victims, which were rapidly increased by laws for confining bankers and *fermiers généraux*.

All natives of countries with which France was at war, whom business, pleasure, or an absurd predilection for the revolution, had made resident in the republic, were exposed to suspicion, and rigorously imprisoned. No allegation of congenial principles, no appeal to solemn promises or invitations, not even recorded naturalisation, could avert their fate, nor was any distinction made in favour of age or sex: all were confined, except labourers, artisans, and a few others. Against the English this rigour was peculiarly directed; Mr. Pitt was decreed an enemy of the human race, and the English government denounced to all nations;

nations; and proposals were made for landing a hundred thousand men on the English coast, burning the vessels, and leaving them to fight for an establishment. The immense numbers who crowded the prisons in consequence of these decrees formed the subject of several motions, petitions, and a few publications; but the exertions of government, far from being checked, were continually increasing, and the revolutionary tribunal, divided into four sections, and constantly employed, could not dispatch with sufficient rapidity the numbers whom suspicion indicated as criminals, and whom it was considered policy to destroy\*.

The most illustrious victim of this dreadful tribunal was the widow of Louis XVI. Far from regarding their pompous promise made in consequence of the king's last letter, the national convention treated the remains of the royal family with marked indignities, proceeding no less from an ostentatious hatred of royalty, than a base personal malignity, and even a sordid avarice, which was taught to regard the expence of maintaining the unfortunate captives as a matter of importance, and to speculate on the reduction of their

\* For the proceedings in the convention, see the journals; On the subject of prisons and causes of imprisonment, see *Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre*, four small volumes; *Crimes de Robespierre et de ses principaux Complices*; Miss Williams's *Letters*, which are chiefly made up of extracts from the former publications: see also the various histories, and Biographical Memoirs.

CH. XI. subsistence to the smallest quantity which would suffice  
 1793. for their support. Suspicion, real or pretended, led the governors of France to order incessant restrictions, accompanied by a system of vigilance which was ever on the search for supposed conspiracies, and in the pursuit subjected the royal family to endless privations and insults.

3d July. Robespierre was the most ardent persecutor of the queen : he obtained a decree for separating her from the dauphin, which was barbarously executed, notwithstanding her tears and intreaties ; and the young prince, whom nature seemed to have devoted to science, the virtues, and the graces \*, was placed under the tuition of Simon, a cobbler, selected on purpose from the mire of vulgarity and blasphemy, and who, in the exercise of his new function, boasted of making his unhappy pupil intoxicated with strong liquors, and compelling his infant tongue to pronounce oaths and obscenities †.

1st Aug. On the capture of Valenciennes, it was considered necessary to alarm the people with fears of new plots, and therefore a series of decrees against conspirators included one for trying the queen, as the supposed centre of intrigues, before the revolutionary tribunal. In pursuance of this edict, she was

\* See Biographical Memoirs, Introduction ; Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. II. p. 40 ; Journal de Clery, pp. 39, 44 ; Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. I. p. 201.

† Les derniers Regicides ; histories and journals.



called from her bed in the middle of the night, and removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie, the worst and most infamous prison in Paris. Before her departure, her pockets were rifled of the few small necessaries she had yet retained; she was refused the consolation of a parting embrace of her son, and hurried into a hackney coach, with only a small quantity of linen in a parcel. Her apartment was a cell eight feet square, with a thinly covered straw mattress to sleep on, and her daily fare was the common food of hospitals, soup and bouillie. Her person no longer exhibited those charms and graces, the description of which exalted eloquence to the sublimest regions of poetry; the beauties of her countenance were obliterated by grief and agitation; her frame was enfeebled, and her whole appearance indicated a premature old age.

After remaining in this horrid dungeon two months, a victim to the insolence of the gaolers, who even admitted people to gaze on her as a sight, she was brought to trial. A committee of the jacobin club was selected to prepare the act of accusation, and Hebert, one of the agents, founded on a pretended conversation with the young prince a charge so unnatural and abominable, that even Robespierre expressed indignation at the monstrous wickedness and folly of the fabrication. The act of accusation against her was a repetition of the libels which had during so many years blackened her fame, and it referred

Ch. XI.  
1793.

CH. XI. referred to transactions previous even to her marriage ;  
 1793. but no evidence was found to substantiate any charge against her ; and all the arts of preparation, promise, and terror, could not produce one person sufficiently hardy to accuse her of any crime or act of immorality. Some allusions to the supposed irregularities of her life were made in the interrogatory to which she was subjected ; but she answered, with magnanimous defiance, that no one could rejoice more than herself that every act of her life should be thoroughly investigated. During the progress of her trial, her deportment was dignified, firm, and composed ; her acquittal was not expected, the pronunciation of sentence having been resolved before the process commenced.

16th. Her execution followed immediately on her condemnation. Cannon were planted on the streets and bridges, and a numerous body of national guards attended for preservation of order. The queen was seated on a tumbril, with her back to the horse, and the mode of her carriage, the poverty of her attire, and the general wretchedness of her appearance, disgraced the French nation for mean and sordid parsimony, no less than the execution itself did for inhospitality and injustice. The royal victim met her fate with courage, and during her whole progress to the place of execution betrayed neither weakness nor affectation of superior heroism. Her body was  
 thrown

thrown into a grave in the church-yard of La Made-  
laine, which was filled up with quick-lime \*.

CH. XI.

1793.

While the queen was thus sacrificed to the rage of the predominating party, the faction of Brissot, which had so materially contributed by its various treasons to the disasters of the royal family, was equally exposed to the fury of persecution. The insurrections in the departments were generally attributed to the fugitives, and they were accused of directing the whole vehemence of their wrath against Paris and the patriots.

Their enmity to Marat was well known, and his assassination, which took place soon after their flight, was with great appearance of probability, though without real truth, ascribed to them. While Louvet and his associates were at Caen, a young lady named Marie Anne Victoire Charlotte Corday obtained an interview with Barbaroux whom she had long known. Incensed at some expressions of Petion which conveyed a doubt of her patriotism, she repaired to Paris, and, after some ineffectual efforts, gained admission to the dwelling of Marat, who had been some time confined with a leprous complaint, and was just coming from the bath. After a short conference, in which he declared that all the Brissotines should suffer death, she plunged in his heart a knife which she had purchased for the purpose; he

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 144. For the Trial see Procès des Bourbons, vol. III.; The Political State of Europe; and the periodical compilations in general.



CH. XI. fell, and, after uttering a short exclamation, expired.  
 1793. The murderer was conveyed to prison, and as she  
 made no attempt to deny the fact, the revolutionary  
 17th. tribunal passed sentence of death, which was  
 immediately executed.

Numbers admired her courage and heroic deportment, which was devoid of affectation, and even mingled with gaiety; and many who could not approve her conduct, rejoiced at seeing the country delivered from a wretch who was at once its scourge and stigma. The convention and clubs, however, viewed the subject differently: his death was deplored as a national calamity and disgrace; deputations and individuals vied with each other in fulsome adulations; his body was laid in state; the convention and constituted authorities attended his funeral, which was celebrated with numerous absurd and antichristian fooleries; an urn containing his heart was hung up in the hall of the Cordeliers; fêtes were given in his honour in all parts of the republic; a picture representing his death was painted by David; and finally the convention decreed that the bust of Mirabeau should be removed from the Pantheon, and that of this little deformed incendiary substituted\*.

The unfavourable impressions made by this event, and the general acceptance of the constitution, completed the ruin of the fugitive deputies. After their

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 53, et seq.; Crimes de Marat et Supplice de Charlotte Corday, &c.

failure before Vernon, they could no longer entertain CH. XI.  
 hopes of success in that quarter; and the administrators 1793.  
 of Calvados having made peace with the governing party, it became necessary to depart. They commenced their journey towards Finisterre in company with three battalions of volunteers, and were themselves in military attire and armed. At Fougères the battalions separated, and they remained with only one which was composed of eight hundred men, but even these were induced to leave them by the consideration that the acceptance of the constitution rendered it treason to associate with outlaws. The number of the party was now reduced from its first formidable force to only nineteen \*, some of the other fugitives having remained behind, and some proceeded to Finisterre before them. This small band proceeded through infinite perils and difficulties, often exposed to the danger of being discovered, and sometimes on the verge of perishing for want of sustenance, till at length they reached Quimper, where they joined Kervelegan and some more of their associates. At this place a vessel was equipped, in which Cussy, Duchatel, Bois-Guyon, Girey Dupré, Salle, Meillant, Bergoing, Marchena, and Riouffe, sailed for Bourdeaux; but they were captured, and almost all executed as outlaws.

\* They were Louvet, Barbaroux, Petion, Buzot, Salle, Cussy, Le Sage, Meillant, Bergoing, and Giroust, deputies; Girey Dupré and Riouffe their intimate friends, six guides, and a servant of Buzot.

CII. XI.   
 1793. Guadet, Buzot, Petion, Valadi and one of his friends, Barbaroux, and Louvet, ignorant of the fate of their associates, obtained with difficulty a passage to Bourdeaux, and, after escaping many dangers, thought themselves happy in reaching the capital of the Gironde. On landing, however, they soon learned their error; the government party had employed the months which elapsed after their flight in subduing the party attached to the fugitives. Violent decrees, enforced by the presence of Tallien and some other deputies of the same stamp, produced entire submission; and the Brissotines, after braving every danger to reach these shores, were viewed with terror, and refused an asylum. Chased from place to place by the vigilant perseverance of their enemies, they were reduced to the utmost extremities, and many fell into the hands of their pursuers. Buzot was found assassinated in a field; the fate of Petion and Barbaroux is uncertain, but they were supposed to be starved to death; Valadi, distracted by his fears, wandered to Perigueux, where he was discovered and sent to the scaffold; Salles and Guadet were delivered up to the vengeance of Tallien at Bourdeaux, who sacrificed with them Guadet's father, brother, and aunt; Louvet alone surmounted the difficulties to which this party were exposed, and found a secure retreat \*.

Meanwhile the Mountain was pursuing with eager-

\* See Louvet's Narrative.



ness the destruction of the deputies confined in Paris: the task required considerable management, and was conducted with perseverance and dexterity. The clubs were at the disposal of the ruling party, and the people were soon taught to petition at the bar for the execution of those whom they were instructed to consider the confederates of the allied powers, the enemies of the constitution, and conspirators against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. The committee of public safety presented a report on their crimes, in which truth and falsehood were so blended as to prevent an easy discrimination; the murder of Marat and every succeeding disaster were imputed to them; the clubs resounded with frequent declamations, and the convention with numerous motions, against them; and at length, Amar, in the name of the united committees of general safety and legislation, presented a report, fabricated like that from the committee of public safety, and which formed the basis of their act of accusation.

Ch. XI.

1793.

8th July.

3d Oct.

24th.

Twenty-one members of the national convention, Brissot, Vergniaud, Genfonné, Dupperret, Carra, Gardien, Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, Ducos, Boyer Fonfrede, Lesterp Beauvais, La Source, Duchatel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Boileau, Lehardi, Vigée, and Antiboul, were brought before the revolutionary tribunal to be tried on this impeachment: Brissot was placed in derision on an elevated seat,

CH. XI. feat. The clubs shewed considerable alarm and jealousy  
 1793. left the reports of the trial should influence the public in favour of the culprits, and decreed that only one journal should publish the proceedings, and that only after a revision by a committee from the Jacobins. The eloquence and sagacity of the prisoners in cross-examining the witnesses embarrassed the court; they found that, according to the ordinary modes, the proceedings would be protracted to an indefinite period: a law was therefore obtained from the convention that the jury might at any time terminate a trial by declaring themselves sufficiently instructed; and directing the president of the tribunal when a trial had lasted three days, to enquire of the jury whether their consciences were satisfied, and on their answering in the

affirmative to close the proceedings. This  
 30th. law was immediately put in force, and the jury pronounced a verdict against all the prisoners at the bar. Valazé, in a transport of indignation, stabbed himself, but his body was ordered to be drawn to the place of execution, and guillotined with the rest; Vergniaud, who had provided himself with poison, declined using it, and delivered it to the officer of the guard.

The condemned deputies returned to the Conciergerie at midnight, and announced their fate to the other prisoners by singing a parody on the Marseillois

hymn: the next day at noon, they were drawn  
 31st. to the *Place de la Révolution*, and in thirty-seven

seven minutes the executioner had fulfilled his office. CH. XI.  
1793.  
The fate of these unprincipled intriguers, who fell by the application of their own axioms and the use of their own expedients, affords an useful lesson, and a conspicuous example, to those who may be ambitious to raise themselves to elevated stations by releasing the lower class from the bonds of law, and obligations of morality and religion \*.

The name of Egalité was included in the report against the Gironde faction; and soon after their execution, he was brought to Paris for <sup>2d Nov.</sup> trial. At Marseilles he had undergone an interrogatory, from which no criminating fact appeared; but instead of being set at liberty, he was more strictly confined than before. He was associated be- <sup>6th.</sup> fore the revolutionary tribunal with a deputy named Coustard, and after a short trial convicted of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic †. In his way to the scaffold he was overwhelmed with all the abuse and indignities that a rancorous and cruel populace could devise, but behaved himself with dignity and unexpected courage. His large fortune had long been squandered in the pursuit of his revolutionary projects, the confiscation was therefore of small consequence; his body was

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 273; Mémoires d'un Detenu, p. 40.

† See Procès des Bourbons.

thrown



CH. XI. thrown unnoticed into the common burying-place  
1793. of Saint Mary Magdalen \*.

In the course of the summer, many other members of the convention, and ex-ministers, attached to the Brissotine party, were sent to the scaffold, or terminated their own days by suicide. Among the number were Gorfas, a friend and literary coadjutor of Brissot, Kerfaint, a skilful sea-officer, and Rabaud St. Etienne†, executed without trial as outlaws. The wife of Rabaud shot herself sitting on the brink of a well, so that her body fell into the water. Manuel having resigned his seat after the murder of the king, retired to Montargis his native town, and endeavoured to evade the pursuit of his enemies by circulating a report that he was slain in a popular commotion. He was, however, brought to Paris and doomed to death : his fate excited no commiseration ; the prisoners in the Conciergerie, on the contrary, reproached him

\* See Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe duc d'Orleans, vol. III. p. 271 to the end ; Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 273, et seq.

† Rabaud St. Etienne was a calvinist minister and member of the constituent assembly, where he was distinguished by his inveteracy against the established church. His eloquence was once so popular, that the Parisians celebrated him in their usual mode of punning, by saying, “ Un monsieur Rabaud vaut deux de Mirabeaus (demis Rabauds).” He is described in the Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, as “ rich in words, but barren of sense.” He was the author of several political works, among others a History of the Revolution, remarkable for its partiality and incorrectness.

with the massacres of September; and when he was ordered for execution, dashed him against the pillars, still stained with the blood of his victims \*. Several other members were executed whose names were of little celebrity, and whose fate excited neither curiosity nor resentment†.

CH. XI.  
1793.

Le Brun, the minister, made his escape from Paris, but was seized in a cock-loft, and put to death almost without examination. Claviere on receiving his act of accusation stabbed himself, and his wife swallowed poison. Roland was twice put in arrest during the contest of the two factions, and had both times the good fortune to be liberated. On the last occasion he made his escape from Paris, and his wife was taken into custody

8th.

1st April,  
and  
31st May.

\* Biographical Memoirs, vol. II. p. 23.

† These were Biroteau, who was taken on board a privateer; Perin, for speculating in military accoutrements; Dupont, the atheist; Noel, an adherent of Brissot; and the *çi-devant* duke Duchatelet, accused of firing on the people on the 10th of August. In the list of victims, though not connected with any party during the revolution, madame du Barry, the once favourite mistress of Louis XV., ought to be mentioned. She was in England at the time of the king's murder, but was fatally advised to return for the purpose of securing her property. Though she lived in cautious retirement, she was sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal for the irregularities of her early life, and on several ridiculous charges, such as wearing mourning for Louis XVI., maintaining an intimacy with Mr. Pitt, and burying letters of nobility belonging to great families in order to preserve them. She is said to have betrayed great weakness in her last moments.

**CH. XI.** as a hostage for him. She was afterwards liberated  
 1793. for a moment, and again more formally imprisoned in St. Pelagie, where she awaited her fate with firmness, and passed a great portion of her time in writing. After the execution of the Brissotines, she was brutally interrogated before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a short abode in the Conciergerie, sentenced to death. Her whole behaviour during her confinement, and in her progress to the place of execution, appears to have been studiously calculated to produce favourable recollections; but if this censure should be considered too severe, the more honourable fact of her suffering death with courage would offer small atonement for an ill regulated life, and those treacherous efforts which contributed in an extraordinary degree to the overthrow of the monarchy and murder of the king. Roland, when he heard of his wife's execution, quitted his asylum at Rouen, and stabbed himself on the high road to Paris \*.

Other individuals who had acted conspicuous parts in the revolution, and obtained their portion of public acclamation, were also subjected to the reverse of fortune which embittered death with ignominy and insult. The once celebrated and popular Barnave was condemned as a conspirator with the court against liberty, and executed amid the

\* See *Œuvres de Madame Roland*, vol. II. ; *Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre* ; and *Miss Williams's Letters*, 1795, vol. I. p. 195, et seq.



ferocious exclamations of the multitude : Bailly, who Ch. XI.  
1793. had more than rivalled him in popularity and fame, preceded him in punishment, and was 11th Nov. pursued in his last moments with unequalled savageness. His great crime was the military execution in the *Champ de Mars*, in June, 1791, and it was bitterly remembered in his punishment. A red flag accompanied him to the scaffold, and he was pelted, spit on, and beaten by the mob. His sufferings were protracted while the guillotine was taken to pieces and removed to a dung-heap ; the red flag was burnt in the *Champ de Mars*, and he, after having been compelled to set it on fire, was tormented by having his head plunged in the smoke ; nor was the executioner permitted to relieve him from his miseries, till his aged and feeble frame was completely exhausted with cold and fatigue. Both these sufferers bore their fate with great magnanimity, and the circumstances attending their last moments are indelible records against the citizens of Paris, whose barbarity is entitled to everlasting execration : but Barnave and Bailly only drank of the cup they had prepared for others ; the first by his dreadful sarcasm, when he enquired if the blood shed by the mob in July, 1789, was so very pure\* ? the other when he termed the horrible days of October in the same year *beautiful* †.

\* See chap. II. of this work.

† See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 179.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Convention pass many frivolous Decrees—Tyranny and Plunder under Pretence of enforcing Equality—Proceedings of the Committee of Instruction, for regulating Weights and Measures—Report on the Telegraph—Decrees in Favour of the Arts and Sciences—On public Education—Exertions of the Antichristian Party—Marriage of Priests—New Calendar—Persecution of Priests—Death decreed to be an eternal Sleep—Anti-religious Deputations to the Convention—Gobet Bishop of Paris and many other Ecclesiastics renounce their Functions—The Goddess of Reason worshipped—Rivalry between the Jacobins and Cordeliers—Clubs of Women—Abolished—The Jacobins gain Advantages over the Cordeliers—Several of whom are imprisoned—Scarcity—Laws for establishing a Maximum—Baking only one Sort of Bread—Planting more Grain—Great Misery of the Poor—Depreciation of Assignats—Extortion of Government—Means used to recruit the Armies—Requisitions—Decree for a Levy en Masse—Rapid manufacture of Arms—Revolutionary Army—Severities exercised against Generals—The Adherents of Dumouriez imprisoned and beheaded—Fate of Custine—New System of Tactics—Proceedings of the Allies after the Capture of Valenciennes—Spirited action at Lincelles*

*Lincelles—Dunkirk besieged—The Siege raised—Quef-  
 noy taken—The French attempt to penetrate into  
 Flanders—Siege of Maubeuge begun—And raised—  
 Drouet taken prisoner—Further Operations in Flanders  
 —Transactions of the King of Prussia's Troops—The  
 French defeated at Pirmasens—The King of Prussia  
 retires to Poland—The Duke of Brunswick takes  
 Lauterbourg and Weissembourg—Haguenau and several  
 other Places taken—Further Success of the Prussians—  
 They fail in an Attempt to surprise Bitche—The  
 French reinforced—The Prussians compelled to retreat  
 across the Rhine—Alternate Success of the French and  
 Spaniards in the Eastern Pyreneés—Unimportant Pro-  
 ceedings in the Western Pyreneés—Success of the Armies  
 of the Alps and Italy under Massena—Insurrection in  
 several Places suppressed—Proscriptions and Oppressions  
 —Proceedings in La Vendée—Factions in the Royal  
 and Catholic Army—The Garrisons of Valenciennes,  
 Mentz, and Condé, sent into La Vendée—The Republi-  
 cans defeated at Montaigu—The Royalists fail before  
 Doué and Thouars—Santerre and Duboux defeated—  
 But the Republicans gain many Advantages—Take  
 Chatillon—Bloody Engagement under the Walls of Chollet  
 —Several royalist Chiefs mortally wounded—The  
 Army under the Prince de Talmont crosses the Loire—  
 Charrette takes Noirmontier—The Prince de Talmont  
 takes Laval—Retreats to Dol—Disappointed of Suc-  
 cours from England—The Royalists utterly defeated at  
 Mans—A Portion of Fugitives defeated at Savenay—  
 Cruelties*



*Cruelties exercised in La Vendée—Bordeaux—Siege and Surrender of Lyons—Decree for razing the City—Excessive Cruelties—Impious Fête in honour of Châlier—Murders at Marseilles—Proceedings against Toulon—Insufficiency of the Garrison—Frequent Affairs of Posts—General O'Hara taken Prisoner—The French gain Possession of the Heights—Evacuation of Toulon—Partial Destruction of the French Fleet—Exultation in Paris—Fête in celebration of the Victories—Improved Aspect of Affairs.*

## CH. XII.

1793.

THE attention of the legislature was often diverted from these important and sanguinary affairs, to discussions and decrees of the most frivolous description. Great pains were bestowed on arguing against the issue of assignats with the royal effigy, and ordaining that the coin of the republic should bear for a legend "The sovereign people," though many members were dissatisfied that the inscription did not declare the people *alone* to be sovereign. The exhibitions of the theatre were severely criticised by the convention: a piece formed on the English novel called Pamela, was indignantly suppressed as containing a picture not of virtue, but nobility, rewarded; and the author and all the performers were sent to prison. To prevent the infection of the public mind by such aristocratic exhibitions, republican tragedies, such as Brutus, William Tell, and Caius Gracchus, were

were ordered to be represented gratis, thrice in every CH. XII.  
 week. Twelfth day (*le jour des rois*) was abolished, 1793.  
 and the game of chess solemnly disroyalised, all the  
 pieces receiving new denominations. The coarseness  
 of manners which distinguished the members of the  
 assembly was communicated to their decrees and de-  
 bates; and under pretence of enforcing equality, great  
 efforts were made to alter the mode of address, from  
 the plural pronoun commonly used, to the singular  
*thee* and *thou*, which was usually considered a mark of  
 familiarity to be applied only among most intimate  
 friends, and from all others a token of disrespect.

The system of equality produced many inconve-  
 nient and vexatious regulations in the prisons and  
 hospitals; and a decree was made, authorising the  
 destruction of all armorial bearings and ensigns of  
 feudality and royalty, which the commune enforced  
 by permitting persons to destroy all pictures and  
 busts, and all plates and moulds bearing, or intended  
 to stamp, royal or chivalric emblems. Armed with  
 this decree, malice and ignorance began a dismal  
 havoc on ornaments in bas-relief, statues, bronzes,  
 antiques, pictures and medals, books with coats  
 of arms stamped on their covers or title-pages, and  
 even maps where the north was indicated by a fleur-  
 de-lys. The convention was at length obliged to  
 interfere, and partially modified, though they would  
 not repeal, the law. Robespierre too checked  
 the rage for harsh and brutal manners under  
20th  
Dec.  
pretext

CH. XII. pretext of equality, by obtaining a decree that all petitioners should appear at the bar uncovered, and that the members themselves should cease to wear their hats during the sitting \*.

1793.

A portion of the convention devoted to useful projects, and called the committee of public instruction, was, however, the medium through which some extensive reforms and some useful regulations were recommended. One of the chief was a project for a general equalisation of measures of length, weight, and capacity. On this subject great pains were bestowed, and a number of philosophic experiments practised. A 1st Aug. long report was presented; and after much 7th Oct. deliberation, a decree obtained for dividing money, weights, and measures, into decimal parts; for which purpose a new division of space and time, and a new coinage, were decreed, but the consequent measures were deferred till a more convenient period.

26th An invention by Chappe, an engineer, was  
Juy. also recommended by this committee, for the making speedy communications to any distance by means of signals forwarded from one station to another, now well known by the name of the telegraph. The committee, after diligently investigating its construction, and trying experiments on a given distance, recommended its adoption. Chappe was rewarded

\* See debates in the Moniteur.



with the appointment of a lieutenant of artillery, and the committee of public safety directed their attention to the proper lines in which his invention could be advantageously used. CH. XII.  
1793.

This committee also rendered a service to the arts by obtaining a decree that a stipend of 2400 livres (105*l.*) each, should be allowed to twelve students to reside in Italy and Flanders, and the royal observatory of Paris was permanently established, with a change of its title to observatory of the republic. <sup>20th May,</sup> But in its great object, that of forming a <sup>30th Oct.</sup> system of public education, the committee entirely failed; all their efforts, and a vast number of debates and laborious reports, producing only a scheme for common charity-schools to be established throughout the country, to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and a republican catechism\*.

While this committee was employed in attempts to diffuse knowledge, the antichristian party in the convention and the commune was no less busy in extirpating from France every vestige of religion. Many cruel decrees were obtained even against the conforming clergy, and more against those who resisted the marriage of priests; many of that body were sufficiently base to shew a dishonourable zeal in complying with these commands, and led their wives into the hall of the legislature to receive fraternal embraces.

\* See the debates.

## CH. XII.

1793.

The committee of public instruction was made an engine in forwarding the schemes of this party, by being directed to prepare a new calendar for the French republic, in which the division of the year into months and weeks, as acknowledged by the whole Christian world, was abolished, in hopes of obliterating every trace of Sundays, holidays, feasts, and fasts. The report made from the committee of public instruction is generally attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine; it was adopted by the convention after some debate, and a few alterations. By this new computation of time, the year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days, which were divided into decades, or periods of ten days. Each of these months had a new name: some referring to the produce of the earth, or course of agricultural employment; as *Vendimaire*, for vintage; *Messidor*, for harvest; *Fructidor*, for fruit; *Floreal*, for flowers: others to the weather; as *Brumaire*, for fogs; *Nivose*, for snow, &c. Besides the name allotted to each day, denoting its ordinal station in the decade, as *primidi*, *duodi*, &c. each had another appellative, derived from the implements of husbandry, the produce of the earth, or the animal creation; as *apple*, *beet-root*, *goose*, *plough*, *roller*. But as these twelve months only occupied three hundred and sixty days, the remaining five in the common year were tacked on at the end, and denominated *sansculottides*! The tenth day, or end of every decade, was considered a day of festival, and

and devoted to some of the virtues, relations, or accidents of life. The whimsical patchwork was completed by adding to every fourth year, instead of the 29th of February in the Bissextile, a day which, for the sake of pre-eminent distinction, was called *le jour de la Révolution* \*.

CH. XII.

1793.

In order to vilify and suppress religion, every effort was made to increase the popular contempt of the priesthood, and to augment the miseries of the order. They were forbidden to exercise any trade or calling to eke out their scanty pittance; all priests and nuns who had not taken the oaths to the republic, were deprived of certificates of residence, and declared suspected; the sale or exhibition of images of saints, rings, chaplets, and rosaries, was prohibited; and the popular clubs refused to all priests certificates of admission into their halls.

Many of these efforts might be considered as directed against the Roman-catholic religion in particular, but not entirely hostile to the general principles of the Christian faith; a new measure of the commune, however, rendered the object of attack indubitable. Fouché, being on mission at Nevers, issued a decree, that all religious signs in streets, squares, and public places, should be *annihilated*, and priests prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from ap-

17th Oct.

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 427; and for the new calendar all the periodical works of the time.

pearing



CH. XII. }  
 1793. } pearing any-where, except in their temples, in the clerical garb. Every citizen deceased was also, within eight-and-forty hours after his decease, to be interred, without ceremony, in a burial-place common to all persuasions, planted with trees, under the shade of which was to be an image representing *sleep*; and on the door of the inclosure an inscription, **DEATH IS AN ETERNAL SLEEP.** The commune of Paris honoured the letter announcing this edict with loud applauses, and decreed a similar measure for the capital.

27th Oct. The jacobin club having voted an application to the convention to make all priests give up their letters of priesthood to be burnt, many anticipated the decree by a voluntary sacrifice. A

27th. deputation from the sections, disguised in clerical vestments, appeared in the hall of the legislature, requiring the resumption of the allowance to their *curé*, and remonstrating against the establishment of bishops and all other classes of priesthood. The general tendency of publications devoted to the governing party, was to destroy all remains of religion; and the convention received with loud plaudits every letter in which a priest proposed to resign his salary, vilified revelation, and abjured his God.

7th Nov. The Cordeliers, who were most active in promoting these disgraceful scenes, obtained a complete triumph on the 7th of November, when the constituted authorities of the department, and  
 commune

commune of Paris, accompanied by the bishop and CH. XII.  
 several *curés*, attended at the bar. Momoro, one of 1793.  
 the administrators of the commune, introduced the  
 members of the clerical body, declaring their inten-  
 tion to divest themselves of the character with which  
 superstition had clothed them; the great example  
 would be followed by their colleagues, and no other  
 worship acknowledged but liberty, equality, and eter-  
 nal truth. Gobet, on this day, completed his de-  
 testable apostacy, by renouncing his function, throw-  
 ing off his clerical vestments, and together with his  
 vicars, depositing on the desk their letters of priest-  
 hood. They were invited to the honours of the sit-  
 ting, and received the fraternal embrace; and most  
 of the clergy in the convention, as Lindet, Coupé,  
 Villiers, Julien, Chabot, Gregoire, and Syeyes, fol-  
 lowed the example of Gobet, and vied with each  
 other in ribaldry and blasphemy. Letters were daily  
 received from the departments, announcing the apo-  
 stacy of priests; and frequent deputations attended  
 at the bar with the remaining spoils of churches and  
 shrines\*.

These exhibitions were only preparatory to 10th  
 the consummation of national idolatry in a Nov.  
 grand fête, where Reason was worshipped as a deity,  
 and represented as actually present in the person of a

\* See the debates; also Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. article Gobet.

CH. XII. <sup>1793.</sup> superannuated courtesan, the wife of Momoro. She was carried by four men in an arm-chair, to receive the embraces of her worshippers in the convention, who all attended in the cathedral of Paris, to celebrate this anti-religious festival. The cause of atheism was not however afterwards so popular as those who had projected this farce fondly hoped; many people persevered in their ancient worship, and the commune still protested against the influence of priests; the plunder of the churches made no compensation for the number of salaries devoted to men who had renounced their benefices; and the people grew indifferent to the exhibitions of priests uttering profane jests, and throwing off their clerical habits.

26th. The convention at length, on the motion of Danton, decreed that no more anti-religious masquerades should be tolerated in their hall; and another law ordered that no sect should predominate or be persecuted.

In all these transactions, the agency of the Cordeliers was conspicuous; they had filled with their members many offices in the department of Paris and national guard, and their journals were profusely circulated. They also exercised a tyranny over the whole city by requiring a filthy uniformity of habili-ment, and stigmatizing as traitors and *muscadins*, all who paid attention to external decorum; and their adherents claimed peculiar honours, by changing their names for those of heroes and regicides, as Brutus, Scævola,



Scævola, and William Tell. The leaders of the Jacobins were known to entertain a rooted dislike of the Cordeliers, and their rivalry began to display itself in motions in the convention, and in the persecution and patronage of individuals ; but the power of clubs was to be assailed with caution, especially as the convention had decreed after the victory over Brissot, that the popular societies had been centres of patriotism, rocks against which the efforts of aristocracy had split, and denounced severe penalties against all who should attempt to impede their meetings.

The convention began the attack by reprobating a new system which prevailed of incorporating women into public clubs ; bodies of this sex, with red woollen caps and tricoloured ribands, paraded the streets compelling others to adopt their mode of habiliment. They at length thought fit to appear in the convention, and their orator in a swagging speech claimed the rights of the people, and threatened resistance to oppression. The convention referred the address to a committee ; who in their report treated these ladies as she-adventurers, female knight-errants, and petticoat-grenadiers ; all compulsory interference with dress was prohibited, and all clubs of women forbidden. The jacobin club also discouraged the assumption of heroic names, by stigmatising as cowards those

CH. XII.

1793.

25th July.

7th Oct.

29th.

30th.

those

**CH. XII.** those who aimed by such means without other merits  
 1793. to gain a brevet of patriotism.

The labours of the Cordeliers in the overthrow of Christianity rendered them odious to great numbers of people, and the Jacobins seized that opportunity to ruin their opponents, by a scrutiny, or *epuration*, as it was called, of the list of their own club. In the course of this proceeding, many were struck off and arrested, particularly the members of the irreligious

16th Nov. faction. Chabot, Bazire, and Thuriot, were early victims; Chaumette read a sort of re-

17th. cantation, by pronouncing a philippic at the Cordeliers against clubs of women; Camille Desmoulins found great difficulty in vindicating his conduct, and was supposed to owe his safety only to the protection of Robespierre; and Thomas Pain and

30th Dec. Anacharsis Clootz were deprived of their seats in the legislature and arrested.

During the whole year, the pressure of scarcity was severely felt both in the capital and departments; and heart-piercing complaints were daily presented from the poor, who famished for want of bread; and from proprietors of grain, sugar, soap, and other necessities, who were plundered by the mob\*. The measure most popular, and least calculated to remove these complaints, was that of establishing a maximum,

\* See debates from the 5th of April to the end of the year.

or certain price at which every farmer and proprietor CH. XII.  
1793. should be obliged to sell certain eatables, and other articles of consumption, which were denominated “of the first necessity.” These laws, however, which were very numerous, extensive, and severe, proved only the means of diffusing terror, and facilitating murder and robbery under colour of law. One sort of bread alone was ordered to be baked in Paris, called *pain de l'égalité*: for a scanty supply of this the poor besieged the doors of the bakers for several hours in a morning, and were often plundered of it when obtained; and the convention, unable to satiate their hunger or appease their clamours, resorted to doubtful and distant expedients, such as the draining of fish-ponds to plant grain and nutritious vegetables, and the conversion of pasture and pleasure ground into arable.

One great cause of distress was the want of cash, and depreciation of assignats, which were issued with such profusion, and so often counterfeited, that people were averse to selling their property for paper of such questionable value. To enforce the receipt of this medium on equal terms was the object of many severe but impracticable decrees; jobbing was forbidden under penalty of banishment, and refusals to receive assignats in payment were made punishable by fine and imprisonment. Yet the spirit of speculation could not be suppressed, nor the confidence of the people conciliated. Assignats were sold at reduced prices,



CH. XII. prices; and every new emission rendered the receipt  
 1793. of them additionally difficult.

9th June. In obtaining supplies government was more successful, as the means employed were more cogent. After many other expedients had been discussed, a forced loan of a thousand millions of livres (43,750,000*l.*) was decreed to be raised by a tax on property. Terror impelled the inhabitants of the departments to throw their gold and silver into the public coffers, happy to escape with their lives from the rigours of greedy perquisition. Yet the quantity of cash which was obtained was insufficient, and government decreed the confiscation of all ingots of gold and silver, and a resumption of all grants of national domains, the treasury refunding all the money which had been paid, in assignats at par: by these and other extortionate means Cambon boasted of having raised between thirty-eight and forty millions (about 1,700,000*l.*); and he vaunted the effects of terror, in making men who had buried and concealed their money bring it into the treasury. The production of money to the state was considered a legitimate end of criminal law; and Barrere, with atrocious pleasantry, termed the guillotine the national mint\*.

Amid all their cares, intrigues, and crimes, the rulers of France omitted no opportunity of strength-

\* See the debates.

ening, equipping, and encouraging, their armies. The laws of requisition, and rising *en masse*, which had been at first feebly suggested and languidly executed, were urged with greater vehemence, and enforced by all the means in the hands of government. All church-bells, save one for each parish, were cast into cannon. All apothecaries, surgeons, and physicians, were put in requisition for the service of the army, and the commissioners sent to the different troops were invested with unlimited powers. To prevent the disbanding of corps on the expiration of their term of service, Danton obtained a decree denouncing punishment of death against every soldier who quitted his colours without permission.

All other modes of recruiting being found ineffectual, the committee of public safety were diligently occupied in giving effect to the project for a levy *en masse*; preparatory to the presentation of the report, Barrere composed an address to the people, which in energetic terms excited them to arms, and invoked the destruction of the invaders. In a week afterwards he produced his report, which was very long, and analysed the principle of calling the whole country into a state of requisition, obviating objections, and shewing the superior advantages of that plan to every other. A decree was obtained amid loud applauses, comprised in eighteen articles, of which the following are the chief.

I. From

CH. XII.  
1793.

31st July.

10th Aug.

15th July.

14th Aug.

21st.

## CH. XII.

1793.

I. From the present moment till that when all her enemies shall have been driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen shall be in permanent readiness for the service of the armies. The young men shall march to combat: the married men shall forge arms, and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes, and wait on the hospitals: the children shall make lint of old linen; the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred against kings, and the unity of the republic.

II. The national edifices shall be converted into barracks, the public squares into manufactories for arms, the ground of the cellars shall be washed with lye to extract the saltpetre.

III. The arms of calibre shall be immediately delivered to those who are to march against the enemy; the internal service of the republic shall be performed with fowling-pieces and pikes.

IV. All saddle-horses shall be given up to complete the cavalry; the draught-horses and others, except those employed for purposes of agriculture, shall convey the artillery and provisions.

V. The committee of public safety is charged to take all necessary measures to establish, without delay, an extraordinary manufacture of arms of all kinds, suitable to the state and energy of the French nation. It is authorised, in consequence, to form all the



the establishments, manufactories, and working-places, CH. XII.  
1793. which shall be deemed necessary for the execution of those works; and to summon throughout the republic all artisans and workmen who can contribute to their success. The sum of thirty millions (1,312,500*l.*) shall be at the disposal of the minister at war. The central establishment of this extraordinary manufacture shall be at Paris.

VI. The representatives of the people sent into the departments to execute the present law shall have the same authority in their respective circles, and shall concert measures with the committee of public safety: they are invested with the same unlimited powers as are intrusted to the representatives of the people with the armies.

VII. No Frenchman summoned to serve shall be suffered to send a substitute. The public functionaries shall remain at their post.

VIII. The rising or movement shall be general: the unmarried or widowed citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, shall march first; they shall form without delay in the chief place of their district; they shall be daily drilled.

IX. The battalion which shall be organised in every district, shall be ranged under a banner with this inscription—" *The French nation risen against tyrants.*"

The council-general of the commune, on the same day, put in requisition all workmen in iron, masons, tilers,

CH. XII. { tilers, carpenters, cartwrights, turners, and found-  
 1793. ers, and all lead and iron in the hands of dealers,

save only the quantity necessary for the reparation of  
 25th Oct. water-pipes. Every shoemaker was com-

pelled to furnish every ten days, five pair of  
 shoes of a certain shape which soldiers alone were  
 permitted to wear, and a proportionate number for  
 every apprentice he employed. All saltpetre, and  
 materials for making it, were put in requisition;  
 and the pretence of searching for such materials  
 formed the means of great plunder, vexation, and  
 tyranny. The manufacture of cannon soon proceeded  
 with astonishing rapidity and success; in little more  
 than two months the establishments at Paris promised

to produce a thousand muskets a-day; the  
 3d Nov. cannon-foundery at the Luxembourg had issued

a hundred and four pieces; that of the Square of Indivi-  
 sibility a hundred and thirty-four; and Carnot boasted  
 that France, which had hitherto been dependent on  
 her enemies for the first articles of defence, would soon  
 supply the rest of the world from her superfluity.

Rigorous measures were also adopted to prevent  
 evasions of the requisition; those who fled from their  
 places of abode were to be treated as emigrants, and  
 their relations punished for their fault. No plea of ill  
 health was admitted except on the certificate of a me-  
 dical professor; and a false certificate subjected any  
 of these to imprisonment. The first requisition was  
 now speedily raised, and employed on garrison duty,  
 thus

thus permitting the veterans who had guarded fort- CH. XII.  
 resses to engage in more active service. Be- 5th Sep. 1793.  
 sides these, a new force was raised for the  
 protection of government under the name of a revo-  
 lutionary army ; it consisted of six thousand picked  
 men and twelve hundred cannoneers, and the ap-  
 pointment of officers was deemed no inconsiderable  
 patronage.

To insure prompt and vigorous exertion in the  
 field, great severities were exercised against the gene-  
 rals who failed in enterprises, or incurred suspicion  
 of treason. The adherents of Dumouriez were  
 speedily sacrificed ; Lanoue and Stengel were exe-  
 cuted immediately after his flight. Mi- 11th Apr.  
 randa, though his opponent, was pursued  
 with great rancour ; and after being once acquitted  
 by the revolutionary tribunal, again imprisoned, and  
 kept in daily alarm for his fate\*. Miaczinski, 21st May.  
 a Polish intriguer much attached to Du-  
 mouriez, was sentenced by the revolutionary tribunal  
 and executed, after a mean attempt to save himself by  
 pretending to disclose important secrets. Devaux  
 was also put to death, though he pleaded that his diso-  
 bedience to Dumouriez would have occasioned his  
 being delivered up to the Austrians, from whose  
 service he was a deserter. Lescuyer suffered 14th Aug.  
 death for attempting to influence his detach-  
 ment near Valenciennes to assist in arresting the com-

\* See Miss Williams's Letters, vol. I. p. 243.



CH. XII. millioners : before his death he left a denunciation  
 1793. against Ferrand the governor of that fortress, which  
 occasioned his imprisonment, and early in the ensuing  
 year his execution.

After the surrender of Condé, Valenciennes, and  
 Mentz, Custine was accused of having occasioned  
 those disasters by his negligence, corruption, and  
 profusion ; and his attempts to enforce discipline

16th. were imputed to him as crimes. He under-  
 went a long trial before the revolutionary tri-  
 bunal, and many witnesses were examined against  
 him, though he was refused permission to call any

27th. in exculpation. He was sentenced to death ;  
 and underwent his fate, according to the  
 accounts of the journals, with courage and piety, but  
 according to other writers, with timidity and un-  
 manly uneasiness \*. His son soon afterwards shared  
 his fate, and his daughter-in-law was long confined  
 in the prison of St. Pelagie. Besides these many other  
 commanders of armies were sent to gaol, or to the scaf-  
 fold ; and the convention avowed as a reason for their  
 severity, the desire of introducing a new system of  
 tactics, which should consist in perpetual attacks, and  
 the gaining of victories by incessant efforts and supe-  
 riority of numbers.

To the effects of this system in various quarters our  
 attention is now directed. After the surrender of Va-  
 lenciennes, the allied commanders separated their

\* See Moniteur, &c. For the contrary statement, see Dic-  
 tionnaire des Hommes Marquans, article Custine.

forces,

forces, and proceeded on a preconcerted plan to be- CII. XII.  
 siege Dunkirk and Quesnoy. A joint attack was in- 1793.  
 tended by the duke of York and general Clerfaye on  
 the strong position called le Camp de César; but  
 when the necessary dispositions had been made with  
 great judgment, the enemy evacuated it in 8th Aug.  
 the night. The duke of York then took 18th.  
 possession of a camp near Turcoin; and on the same  
 day the hereditary prince of Orange attacked the  
 French posts at Mauvaix, Blaton, and Lincelles, of  
 which he took the two latter. At one o'clock in the  
 afternoon, however, the republicans returned on Lin-  
 celles; and the hereditary prince, having made great  
 detachments of his force, was obliged to solicit succour  
 from the British commander. Three battalions of  
 guards were immediately sent under general Lake;  
 but on their arrival they found the enemy in posses-  
 sion of the place, the Dutch having been driven out  
 in an opposite direction. Notwithstanding the great  
 disparity of numbers and strength, it was judged proper  
 to attack; and the valour of the British troops was  
 eminently displayed in driving the French from this  
 strong position through the village of Lincelles, taking  
 fifty prisoners, with three hundred pieces of cannon,  
 and leaving between two and three hundred killed and  
 wounded.

Meanwhile field-marshal Freytag advanced  
 to co-operate with the duke of York, defeating 20th.  
 the republicans in his way at Oost Capelle, Rexpæde,

## CH. XII.

1793.

22d.

and Hondſchoote. The duke immediately marched from Furnes, and the allies took their ground within a league of Dunkirk; the French having in their retreat cut the dyke between that city and Bergue, by means of which they could inundate great part of the country from the ſea. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the allies drove the republicans into the town, which the duke of York ſummoned, and received an answer in terms of defiance.

23d.

The Britiſh commander was poſted on both ſides of the canal of Furnes, between Ghivelde and Aſtrinkonke, his front extending to Dunes along the ſea. The beſieged had abundant means of annoying him with gun-boats, while thoſe expected from England did not arrive. But the French adopted more vigorous meaſures for raiſing the ſiege; they ſent poſt from the armies of the Rhine and Moſelle a reinforcement of forty thouſand men\*; and exchanged the gariſon of three thouſand men, of whoſe fidelity they were ſuſpicious, for twelve thouſand on whom they could rely. Thus furniſhed with an

6th Sept.

overwhelming force, they attacked field-maſſal Freytag, near the village of Arneck, and drove him back with great loſs to Hondſchoote. In the courſe of the engagement, Freytag and prince Adolphus were ſlightly wounded, and for a ſhort time in the hands of the enemy, but were reſcued by ge-

\* See Carnot's Answer to Bailleur.



neral Walmoden. An attack was made, the same evening, on the duke of York, and the next day Freytag's troops were again assailed and defeated at Hondſchoote; and the duke was obliged to raise the ſiege with precipitation, and retreat with the loſs of his battering artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition and ſtores. Though the convention received the intelligence of this victory with joy, it did not prevent their accusing their general, Houchard, of neglecting to purſue his advantages to the utmoſt, and drive the Britiſh army into the ſea; and on this charge he was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and his property confiscated.

Ch. XII.

7th.

1793

16th Nov.

In drawing ſo large an army to Dunkirk, the French had weakened the defence of Queſnoy, which in conſequence yielded to general Clerfaye, the gariſon being made priſoners of war.

11th Sept.

Flushed with their ſucceſs at Dunkirk, and animated by their ſuperiority in numbers, the French now meditated the reconqueſt of Flanders; and the convention, anticipating the event, recommended that their generals ſhould not loſe time in municipaliſing the country, but draw from it great quantities of proviſions and golden ingots. A ſeries of active ſervices and ſevere engagements took place from the 10th of September till near the end of the month, when the allies were enabled to con-

Sept.

CH. XII. gratulate themselves on having recovered the posts  
 1793. they had lost, and protected all Austrian Flanders.

On the 29th, a division of the army under prince Cobourg crossed the Sambre in various columns, to form the siege of Maubeuge. They had chosen their ground with characteristic judgment; and the French were obliged to exert their whole force for 15th and their expulsion. This dangerous enterprise 16th Oct. was entrusted as a coup-d'essai to general Jourdan; and Carnot and Duquesnoy, the deputies on mission, headed detachments in person. The contest lasted two days; and the republicans finally succeeded in gaining the position, though they lost a greater number of men than the allies, and although twenty-four pieces of cannon were taken from them without their gaining one to counterbalance the loss. The siege of Maubeuge was raised; but it should not be

omitted to mention, that Drouet, the post- 2d Oct. master of St. Meneshould, being one of the deputies on mission, was captured in an attempt to escape, and sent prisoner to the fortress of Spitzberg in Moravia.

The ensuing days of October were occupied in a series of bloody engagements, in which, though often repulsed, the French were so far successful as to make considerable advances in Flanders, spread terror to Brussels and Ostend, and form the siege of Nieuport. The duke of York, in this crisis, exerted great vigour and judgment in repelling the enemy; and, after a severe struggle,

struggle, induced them to abandon the projects they had formed against Menin, Ypres, and that side of Austrian Flanders. Nieuport was only protected from their approaches by inundation ; and a detachment from the British fleet, under admiral Macbride, arriving at this critical juncture, they were obliged to raise the siege, retreating hastily in the night. They were afterwards driven from Furnes, and attacked in their posts at Ors and Chatillon sur Sambre. Marchiennes was taken by a detachment under generals Kray and Otto, and Poperinghue by a detachment from the garrison of Ypres under general Sallis ; but the remainder of the campaign produced only a few affairs of posts \*.

After the surrender of Mentz, the hostile armies continued for some time inactive, except some attempts of the Prussians to penetrate into the plains of Alsace, which were not crowned with success. In September, a division of the French army, under general Moreau, attacked the duke of Brunswick's camp at Pirmasens, and were in some hopes of success, when the duke, by a judicious manœuvre, surrounded three thousand men, and compelled them to lay down their arms ; the remainder effected a retreat in confusion, and with loss, while the victors burned a camp near Bitche. In support

\* Chiefly from the Gazettes.



CH. XII  
1793. of Moreau's enterprize, a feigned attack was made on general Kalreuth, who cut to pieces the regiment called by way of distinction *les sans-culottes*. Several other unsuccessful attacks were made on the same day; and the convention, dissatisfied with the conduct of Landremont, who headed this army, removed him, and for a time conferred the chief command on Moreau, whose rising reputation was not obscured by his ill success; but afterwards on Hoche, a ferocious sans-culotte, raised from the dregs of the people, and distinguished by most violent and disgusting manners. The remainder of September, however, produced only affairs of posts; and the king of Prussia then retiring to head his troops on the frontiers of Poland, the command devolved on the duke of Brunswick.

This skilful officer projected a general and complicated attack on the French lines at Lautre, which was executed with great success; the enemy, in their panic, evacuating Lauterbourg, though it was provided with abundant means of defence; and Weissebourg yielding after a short defence, much disproportioned to its strength. The defeat of the French was complete in every direction; they had between three and four thousand killed and wounded, besides losing twenty-six pieces of artillery.

At the same time, another portion of the army, under general Mezeros, captured the town of Hagenau; general Wurmser advancing to his

his support, encountered the French, whom, after CH. XII.  
 an obstinate engagement, he drove from the heights of 1793.  
 Brumpt with great loss; while the prince de Waldeck  
 took Druzenheim, and invested Fort Louis, which  
 surrendered in less than a month, yielding to the vic-  
 tors four thousand prisoners, a hundred and twelve  
 pieces of cannon, and large quantities of ammunition  
 and stores.

The republicans now used the most rigorous means  
 to extort contributions from the rich inhabitants of  
 Flanders. They continued, during the whole month  
 of November, making attacks on the line of the allies,  
 but were driven back beyond Hombourg; 30th.  
 and after a defeat by general Wurmser, in  
 which they lost fifteen thousand men in killed, wound-  
 ed, and prisoners, they were compelled to evacuate  
 the duchy of Deux-Ponts, though they carried off  
 twelve of the richest inhabitants as hostages for pay-  
 ment of a contribution of two millions of livres  
 (87,500*l.*). Nothing remained to oppose the entry  
 of the Prussians into Alsace but the fortress 26th Nov.  
 of Bitche, which a detachment of six thou-  
 sand men, led by an emigrant officer, attempted  
 to surprise in the night. As they were proceeding  
 along the defiles of the mountains which commanded  
 the town, the alarm was suddenly given; the pro-  
 prietor of a large wooden building setting it on fire,  
 enabled the garrison to take distinct aim at the in-  
 vaders; and the troops, being duly prepared, made a  
 vigorous

Ch. XII. vigorous resistance, and finally repelled the attack in  
 1793. every quarter \*.

This success was followed by others more important ; the campaign against the other army of the allies being finished, the expedient practised at Dunkirk was renewed with equal success : daily reinforcements, sent post, enabled the French to surmount all the efforts of skill and discipline by superiority of

8th Dec. numbers. Pichegru and Hoche carried, at the point of the bayonet, the redoubts which covered Haguenau, taking that place, as well as Drusenheim and Bischweillers, and finally, by a desperate attack in which they were several times repulsed,  
 26th. they compelled the whole army to retreat across the Rhine, raising the blockade of Landau ; but a garrison was left in Fort Louis, and the duke of Brunswick took a position to cover Mentz †.

In the Eastern Pyrenées, don Ricardos, after his success at Bellegarde, besieged Collioure, and  
 30th July, and after several affairs of posts captured Prades  
 4th Aug. and Ville Franche. The French general Dagobert advanced to oppose the progress of the Spaniards, and several severe engagements were fought in the space of a month, with alternate success.

Sept. At length the preponderance seemed to incline on the French side ; after several hard-

\* Vie de Lazare Hoche, vol. I. p. 109.

† See the Gazettes and Journals ; Histoire du Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. III. chap. xi.

fought



fought actions, and some repulses, they recovered Ville Franche, forced the camp at Prades, and took Thuir, St. Colombe, and Elhe. They even invaded the province of Catalonia, took the town of Campredon, recovered Argeles, placed Colioure in safety, re-established the communications with Perpignan, and occupied the heights which commanded Boullan. CH. XII.  
1793.

Desflers being removed from the command and imprisoned, and Dagobert permitted to retire to Montpellier, the government of the army was conferred on Daoust, who also invaded the Spanish territory, and took Canteloup; but the Spaniards were avenged by a brilliant victory, which they gained at Roussillon, and which was followed by the surrender of the towns of Port Vendre and Collioure, and the fort of St. Elms, in all which places they gained an immense booty. 4th Oct.  
28th Oct.  
14th Dec.  
20th.

Don Ventura Caro had concluded his campaign in the western Pyrenées at an earlier period. Having stripped and razed the fort of Hendaye, the Spaniards formed small camps on the mountain of Louis XIV. which the French took and burnt, attaching much more celebrity to the action than its real importance could warrant. Servan was removed, and sent prisoner to Paris, being succeeded by Delbecq and Labourdonnaye. The division under Delbecq was employed in skirmishes, while Labourdonnaye was preparing for a greater attempt; but July and  
August,

both

CH. XII. both generals dying at nearly the same period, the  
 1793. command of the whole force devolved on Desprez

Crassier. The new general endeavoured to  
 29th Aug. surprise all the positions of the Spaniards;  
 but being foiled in his attempt, was removed from  
 the command and sent prisoner to Paris. The re-  
 mainder of the campaign produced no event worthy  
 of commemoration, except the capture and burning

7th Sept. by the republicans of the villages of Zugur-  
 ramurdy and Urdax, and a change of posi-  
 tion, which the French effected with great judgment,  
 and in which the valour and prudence of Latour  
 d'Auvergne were eminently conspicuous \*.

The army of the Alps and Italy was now com-  
 manded by Kellermann, Brunet having been sent to  
 Paris in disgrace, and executed. The king of Sardi-

Sept. nia headed his own troops in person; several  
 skirmishes took place, with various success;  
 Kellermann boasted of great victories; but the con-  
 vention deprived him of his command, and imprison-  
 ed him in the Abbaye. Massena, who was  
 23d and 24th Nov. his successor, stormed with great bravery and  
 judgment two strong posts in the Alps, called Castel-  
 Gineste, and le Brec; this exploit was performed by  
 the troops carrying in their arms a four-pounder for  
 the space of two miles: the post of Figaret was also

\* From Mémoires sur la dernier Guerre entre la France et  
 Espagne.

captured, and Massena was enabled to affirm, that the advantages of two days had stamped on the arms of the republic the seal of victory \*. CH. XII.  
1793,

In the suppression of domestic insurrection, the exertions of government were attended with still greater success. General Wimpfen, after a flight and rather ridiculous opposition, sought safety in flight; and submission pervaded the departments of Calvados and Eure. Those of the Somme and Oise were subjected to plunder and proscription, without the pretext of a serious insurrection; and Beauvais was exposed to all the horrors of republican violence to extort from the inhabitants sixty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven livres and four sous (2724*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*), though the means used to gain this paltry contribution suspended the labours of the manufactory of tapestry.

Against the insurgents in La Vendée *strong measures* were devised, the success of which might have been doubtful, but the progress of events, aided probably by corruption, gave the agents of government many advantages. The royal and catholic army was divided by factions, originating in jealousy of d'Elbée, Bonchamp, and the president of that council under whose direction they had hitherto experienced such conspicuous good fortune. Charette led a separate army, formed entirely in the department of La Ven-

\* The words of his dispatch to the convention.



CH. XII. <sup>1793.</sup> *déc.*, interfering with none of the other parties, but jealous of them all. Lescure, d'Autichamp, and the prince de Talmont, son of the duc de la Trimouille, were the chief rivals of d'Elbée, and their faction by degrees prevailed both in the council and the field. <sup>Auguft.</sup> Charette failed in two attacks on Luçon, and a body of republicans under general Rouffillon defeated the royalists at Doué; but the feeble state of the army, after the great rout at Vihiers, prevented any grand effort, and the insurgents did not wish to engage in large expeditions till the harvest was got in.

In the mean time, the convention employed the garrisons of Valenciennes, Mentz, and Condé, in recruiting the army of La Vendée, gaining thus the advantage of employing veterans in that important service; and several decrees were passed for improving the condition and discipline of the forces, and securing the fidelity and regularity of the staff. Till the <sup>Sept.</sup> arrival of the garrison-troops, the republicans were not anxious to seek encounters, and the royalists only engaged in unsuccessful efforts to prevent the junction of those from Mentz. But when the preparatory operations were completed, and the succours arrived, measures were taken for raising the country *en masse*; and the deputies on mission boasted of being joined by a hundred and fifty thousand of the peasantry, armed with axes, scythes, and implements of husbandry, to destroy fugitives.

According

According to a plan arranged in a council of war, CH. XII.  
1793. general Canclaux took Legé, Machecoul, and several other places, while Beysser captured the strong town of Montaigu; but the royalists, according to their usual policy, returned on the republicans while in imaginary security, drove them from the town, and compelled both Beysser and Canclaux to seek refuge under the walls of Nantes. Beysser was immediately sent to Paris, and perished on the scaffold.

This success of the insurgents was amply counterbalanced by the failure of an exploit 13th Sept. planned by d'Autichamp and the prince de Talmont against Doué. The republicans, apprised of their intention, were prepared for their reception, and the conspicuous misconduct of the royalist leaders occasioned a total rout of their forces. Lescure made also, on the same day, an unsuccessful attack on Thouars.

Deceived by the appearances following these events, Rossignol pushed forward parties of six hundred each, under Duhoux and Santerre, with instructions to reach Chollet; but both generals were defeated with the loss of most of their men, and all their artillery and baggage. Canclaux had, however, recommenced his operations on the side of Nantes, and again taken Clisson and Montaigu, and pushed forward as far as St. Syphorien, when he was superseded by general Lechelle.

The

CH. XII.

1st Oct.

1793.

The general balance of success now inclining in their favour, the committee of public safety, by their orator Barrere, obtained a decree uniting the armies acting in La Vendée under one commander, nominating Lechelle to that situation, and declaring the confidence of the legislature that this execrable war would be terminated

10th. before the 20th of the month. The army hastening to execute this decree, dislodged the royalists from Bressuire, and entered Chaillon without opposition. The insurgents, however, returning in their usual manner, the city was retaken, and again captured by the republicans, who pressed forward to the general rendezvous at Mortagne, where the divisions of Luçon and Nantes were already arrived without opposition : a strong proof of the discord prevalent in the royalist army.

The force from Nantes, including the garrisons, was reduced, by frequent skirmishes, to twenty-eight thousand men ; but they were permitted to take

16th. Chollet, without opposition. Lechelle had disposed these troops in an injudicious position under the walls, when d'Elbée, Bonchamp, Lescure, Stofflet, and several other royalist chiefs, at the head of fifty-five thousand men, made a dreadful onset, and for two hours appeared to have gained the victory ; the advantage, however, turned in favour of the republicans, who completely routed their adversaries,



CH. XII.  
1793.

versaries, having mortally wounded d'Elbée, Bonchamp, and Lescure. To the disappearance of these chiefs the defeat is in some measure attributed, but more to the steady valour of the troops from Mentz; and most of all to the opinion maintained by the prince de Talmont and d'Autichamp, that their army could not maintain itself on the left bank of the Loire, and that it would be most prudent to cross that river, in order to march to Paris, or, in case of defeat, to gain some sea-port in Brittany, and request foreign assistance. In preparation for the execution of this project, troops, which might have been more advantageously employed, were stationed on the banks of the river to protect the passage of a vast crowd of priests, ladies, and children, who encumbered the army. Charette, who might have fallen on the rear of the republicans, abstained from acting, in hopes that the retreat of the main army would leave him sole master of La Vendée. The peasantry, according to their usage, dispersed in every direction, while the remainder of the royal force followed the prince de Talmont in his passage over the 17th, 18th, Loire, which was effected in three days, 19th, Oct. though not without considerable impediment from the enemy. The whole number of his followers was estimated at thirty thousand, of whom one-third were an incumbrance to his flight, and an impediment to his operations.

La Vendée being thus evacuated, the convention ascribed

CH. XII. ascribed omnipotence to their decree, and in boastful  
 1793. terms communicated to all the departments that La Vendée existed no more; but as soon as the main body of the republicans had crossed the river in pursuit of de Talmont, Charette gained several advantages, which were, however, before the end of the year, reduced to the possession of the isle of Noirmoutier only.

24th. Soon after he had crossed the Loire, the prince de Talmont took possession of Laval, with so much ease as to cause suspicion of treachery. He was twice attacked by the republicans; but their general Lechelle failing in both attempts, and being ordered to Paris, anticipated the fate he saw impending over him, by swallowing poison.

The royal army was now augmented to eighty thousand, but in want of ammunition and provision; and the convention, to prevent their obtaining supplies, decreed that every place where they were received, or not resisted, should be razed, and the property of the inhabitants confiscated. Great efforts were also made for raising the people *en masse*, and the prince de Talmont, feeling the approach of want, formed the bold and dangerous resolution of pushing forward to gain a position on the coast, where he might receive succours from England; in prosecution of which plan he captured Mayenne, and afterwards Dol, from which place he could easily proceed to St. Malo. While waiting the expected supplies, the

the royalists made an unsuccessful attack on Grandville, but being threatened on all sides by the republicans, and in danger of being surrounded, while they received no intelligence of the expected aids, they again decamped for the interior, hoping to find relief and a rallying point from which they might issue under more favourable auspices. Their disappointment was not occasioned by any neglect of the British ministry; on the contrary, every exertion was made to afford them succour, and the earl of Moira with ample supplies arrived off the coast in eight days after their departure. He repeated his signals, and renewed his efforts in vain, and was, after near a month's expectation, obliged to return to the shores of Great Britain \*.

23d Nov.

1st Dec.

Meanwhile the royalists, pressed by want, consumed their force in attacking great towns. At Angers they were repulsed with loss, but succeeded at La Fleche, which they took by surprise. At Mans, however, their approach was anticipated; and the republicans defeated and put to hopeless and irreparable rout their whole army; no quarter was given, and the massacre was computed at eighteen thousand men. A remnant of the discomfited army endeavoured to regain the friendly territory of La Vendée; but they were pursued by the republicans

5th.

11th.

\* See lord Moira's narrative of the transaction; debates of the British house of lords, 14th February, 1794.



CH. XII. under Kleber and Westermann, and after a conflict  
 1793. of two days, again defeated with similar slaughter at Savenay. Nothing now remained for the victors, but to secure the conquered departments against future insurrections, which they sought to effect by burning habitations, and indiscriminate slaughter. Carrier was on mission at Nantes, and his unrelenting barbarities rendered his name atrociously celebrated, and formed a stigma on the revolution. The prisons were filled by false denunciations; military tribunals erected, which condemned without the appearance of trial; and the guillotine being found too slow for the savage purposes of rapid execution, the shooting of whole detachments, and drowning of hundreds at a time by means of a barge with a false bottom, were put in practice, and known by the names of *noyades* and *fusillades* \*.

It was designed to extend this mode of enforcing obedience to every part of the republic which had been a scene of insurrection; and Bourdeaux, the capital of the Gironde, was expected to share in the general visitation, not less on account of its political crimes, than the character of the deputies on mission, the two principal of whom were Tallien, and a renegade priest, named Ysabeau. The result did not, however, answer the general expectation; Tallien, for the first

\* From Turreau's Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée, and the debates of the Convention. See also Prud'homme; and Miss Williams's Letters, 1795, vol. I.

time, relaxed in the task of cruelty; caught in the snares of love, he passed his time in gallant attentions to an imprisoned lady, the divorced wife of M. Fontenay, and daughter of Gabarus, a Spanish banker. Her charms were subservient to the cause of humanity; and though her admirer sanctioned some acts of plunder, his great lenity towards those who were designated as victims, produced numerous complaints against him to the committees of government, and the clubs\*.

In the south, Lyons presented an aspect of formidable resistance, and desperate energy: the convention refusing to offer any terms of compromise, Kellermann, who was first employed against the rebel city with a detachment from the army of the Alps, invited the inhabitants to throw open their gates, and join in confederation with his troops, but in vain; and a proclamation by Dubois Crancé and Gautier was equally ineffectual.

CH. XII.  
1793.

8th. Aug.

14th.

The bombardment of the city was commenced, but its effect considerably retarded by the exertions and precautions of the inhabitants in preventing conflagrations, and extinguishing the fuses of bombs. The investment was however so close, that famine began to be severely felt; corruption found its way within the walls, and treasons discovered and punished only

\* See Prud'homme, vol. V.; Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, article Tallien.

CH. XII. increased alarm and mistrust. New missionaries were  
 1793. sent to the besieging army, among whom were Couthon, Maignet, and Chateaufort Randon: they addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, requiring an unconditional surrender; which being disregarded, a more furious bombardment and cannonade was commenced; the works were carried by  
 19th. main force, and several important posts fell successively into the hands of the assailants.  
 29th. General Doppet, who arrived from the army of the Alps to command the siege, was preparing to make  
 8th Oct. a last attack, when the people opened their gates and surrendered at discretion. General Précy, at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and escorting many women and children, made his escape; but an ammunition waggon being blown up, occasioned great destruction among his helpless followers; and the country being raised, and the fugitives pursued by a party of the victorious enemy, the whole detachment was put to the sword\*.

12th. In the fate of their defenders, the people of Lyons might anticipate their own: a decree passed the convention for razing all the buildings except the abodes of the poor, of murdered patriots, and houses of industry and public instruction. On the site a column was to be raised with an inscription, LYONS WARRED AGAINST LIBERTY—LYONS

\* Journal du Siege de Lyons.



IS NO MORE ; and the name of the city was changed CH. XII.  
to *Ville Affranchie*. 1793.

This decree gave additional energy to the measures of vengeance already pursued ; twenty thousand men who had signed a petition were devoted to destruction at once on the motion of Dubois Crancé ; and an intention was publicly professed of reducing the population from a hundred and forty thousand, to twenty-five thousand souls at the utmost. As a means of exciting the jacobins to relentless revenge, the remains of Challier were brought to view, and worshipped, like those of his political preceptor, Marat : Robespierre pronounced his eulogy in the jacobin club, and Dorfeuille at Lyons. Collot 14th.  
d'Herbois, Montaut, and Fouché, were deputed by the jacobins to accelerate measures of cruelty, and under their auspices a fête was performed 10th Nov.  
to the memory of the republican martyr. As part of this impious ceremony, an ass covered with a priest's vestments, having on his head a mitre, and the volumes of holy writ tied to his tail, paraded the streets ; the remains of Challier were then burnt, and the ashes distributed among his admirers, while the books were also consumed ; and the ashes scattered in the wind. It was proposed to terminate the ceremony by murdering all the prisoners ; but a sudden storm drove the people to their houses. No time was however lost in forwarding the work of destruction ;  
the

## HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CH. XII.

1793.

the missionaries boasted to the convention of their inflexibility, and required the explosion of mines, and the rapidity of flame, to gratify their desires of extermination; and the convention received with coldness a petition from the inhabitants of this large, beautiful, and rich city, requiring mercy, referring it to the committee of public safety which had ordered their destruction \*.

At Marseilles, the exterminating ferocity of Barras, Robespierre junior, Freron, and Salicetti, was aided by the experience and unrelenting barbarity of Jourdan le coupe-tête.

Immediately after the surrender of that city, Carteaux directed his march towards Toulon, his army being augmented by a *levy en masse* of the southern provinces. In his progress, a portion of his force was defeated at Ollioules by a part of the garrison under sir George Keith Elphinstone. Lord 6th Sept. Mulgrave arriving at Toulon, and being invested provisionally with the command of the troops, proposed evacuating this post; but before he could execute his intention, it was attacked by five thousand French, who drove out the allies, in number only four hundred, though with no great loss.

The garrison was far too small for the defence of the place, though reinforced by three thousand Spaniards from the army of Roussillon, and bodies of Sardinians

\* See Prud'homme, vol. VI.

and

## HISTORY OF FRANCE.

and Neapolitans. The protection of Toulon depended on the power of retaining a great number of posts; which could only be done by an ample provision of force, which it was found impossible to collect. Hence the duty was excessively fatiguing, and the affairs of posts frequent and bloody. Lord Mulgrave, with great intrepidity, gained the heights of La Grasse, where a fort was established, called in honour of the noble commander by his name. The enemy, in hopes of annoying the shipping in the harbour, occupied the heights of Pharon, from which they were dislodged after a severe action, which lasted the whole day, by a body of British, Spanish, and Sardinian troops.

CH. XII.  
1793.

The surrender of Lyons, and great draughts from the army of Italy, augmenting the force of the besiegers to upwards of thirty thousand men, their spirit of enterprise augmented in proportion; and affairs of posts became more and more frequent. Terror and treachery began to operate among the inhabitants of Toulon, and jealousies prevailed among the allied troops forming the garrison. In this discouraging situation, lieutenant-general O'Hara, arriving with a reinforcement from Gibraltar, took on himself the command, being invested, jointly with lord Hood and sir Gilbert Elliot, with a directorial commission under the great seal of Great Britain. About the same time Carteaux and Lapoype were removed from the command of the republican army, which

20th Sept.

1st Oct.

October.



CH. XII. which was for a short time intrusted to Doppet, and  
 1793. afterwards to Dugommier.

Under the direction of this general a  
 30th Nov. battery was erected on the heights of Arenes, which a body of the garrison was directed to take. In this they succeeded : but, unmindful of the instructions they had received, descended the hill in pursuit of the enemy, and gained other distant heights ; Dugommier rallied, drove them back, repossessed the fort, and general O'Hara, being wounded in the right arm, was taken prisoner, and sent to Paris. A general attack was now threatened, and the allies were  
 9th Dec. compelled to relinquish some of their posts ;  
 to 17th. new batteries continued to be erected by the French, who also took by their superior numbers, the heights of La Grasse, fort Mulgrave, and finally the commanding eminences of Pharon.

The town and inner road being now com-  
 17th. pletely commanded, the allies found it impossible longer to maintain their position ; the troops were withdrawn from several of the posts, the Neapolitans retiring in the night, and without orders, on board their ships. As many royalists as could be received were permitted to seek their safety on board the merchant ships in the harbour, which were to be provisioned by the allies, but the general confusion frustrated the plan.

These measures were arranged in a council  
 18th. of war, and the next day the sick and wounded

wounded and the field artillery were sent off; the whole town was in confusion, the jacobins fired from their windows on the royalists and retreating troops; the quay was crowded with persons of all ages and both sexes, imploring to be received on board boats, which were already crowded to sinking, and the lives of six thousand were saved by the humanity of the allies.

All the French ships ready for sea had sailed under admiral Trogoffe, a steady royalist; and the destruction of the remainder with the stores was resolved in council, though known to be repugnant to the opinion of the Spanish admiral, who had declared the annihilation of the French navy to be no less hostile to the interests of Spain than congenial to those of Great Britain. To avoid offending this suspicious and punctilious ally, the destruction of the vessels and stores in the inner harbour was committed to admiral Langara, while sir Sydney Smith volunteered his services to superintend the conflagration in other parts. Having completed his preparations, the British captain, in defiance of numerous dangers, placed his combustibles, and moored a fire-ship in a proper direction; and on the appointed signal being given, involved the ships and store-houses in flame. The Spaniards, in their eagerness to finish the task of danger, set fire to two powder-ships, instead of scuttling them, as had been agreed; and the explosion of these vessels added greatly to the horrors of the scene, and for a moment

CH. XII. ment endangered the British boats, though a beneficial  
 1793. effect was on the whole produced, by the alarm it created among the republicans. The Spaniards also failed in firing the ships in the basin before the town, reporting it to be impracticable; the English, on attempting it, found it was become really so, by the increased force of the republicans, which would prevent their cutting the boom across the basin. Having exhausted his combustibles, and the strength of his brave followers, sir Sydney returned to the fleet, having first secured every man who had been landed to protect this extraordinary enterprise. The moment the rear of the allied army quitted the town, the republicans entered, and began immediately to glut their fury on the stragglers and the royalists; many were pursued into the sea; and some getting on board boats, even without oars, followed the fleet to escape the knives of the assassins.

The general loss of the French was not so great as at first represented; the grand magazine on shore was not set on fire, but only some smaller buildings; the principal damage fell on the shipping, and that would have been greater, but for the negligence or treachery of the Spaniards. Three ships of the line and twelve frigates were brought into English harbours, and nine ships of the line were burnt by sir Sidney Smith. The Sardinians took possession of one frigate, the Neapolitans and Spaniards of two sloops, two frigates used as powder magazines were blown up  
 by



by the Spaniards, one frigate ashore was burnt by the Sardinians, and two corvettes by the English \*. CH. XII.  
1793.

Intelligence of this event was received in the convention with unbounded exultation, not unmingled with virulent exclamations against the English ; and measures of proscription against the royalists of Toulon were not omitted. A grand fête in celebration of the victories of the republic was planned by David the painter-legislator, and attended by the convention and constituted authorities : it formed a medley of grandeur and meanness, solemnity and frivolity. The rulers, however, congratulated themselves on the termination of this eventful year, so different from what its commencement augured ; they found their authority established, insurrection suppressed, the armies recruited, their arms generally respected, if not universally successful ; and their general situation, though not exempt from arduous difficulties, was more encouraging than their partisans could have hoped, or their opponents have supposed.

\* For all these particulars, see the Gazettes ; and Rose's Naval History of the late War, vol. I. p. 14, et seq.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Efforts of the Allies to prevent Supplies from being afforded to France—Consequent Disputes with Tuscany and Genoa—L'Imperieuse seized at Leghorn—The Modeste seized at Genoa—Insurrection at Corsica—Ineffectual Attempt of Commodore Linzee to aid the Insurgents—After the Evacuation of Toulon, Lord Hood attacks Corsica—Takes Mortella—Fornilly—San Fiorenzo—Bastia—and Calvi—Corsica annexed to the Crown of Great Britain—New Constitution for that Island—Claims advanced by Genoa—Exertions of France to raise a Marine Force—They take one Frigate and several Merchant Ships—Several Frigates captured by the English—Proceedings of Lord Howe—Partial Engagements with the Brest Fleet—General Engagement and Defeat of the French Fleet—False Narratives given in the Convention—The English take Martinique—Sainte Lucie—Les Saintes—and Guadaloupe—Proceedings in Saint Domingo—Port-au-Prince taken—Preparations for the Campaign on the Frontier of France—Pichegru heads the Army of the North—The Duke of York after arranging a Plan of Campaign goes to Valenciennes—Jealousies between the Emperor and the King of Prussia—Proclamation of the Emperor*

*Emperor—Opposed by the King of Prussia—He orders his Troops to be withdrawn—But at length permits them to remain—The Emperor takes the chief Command—Landrecies besieged—Pichegru attempts to raise the Siege—Is defeated—Takes the Post of Moucron—Courtray and Menin taken—Landrecies taken—Pichegru changes his Plan—Frequent Engagements—Efforts to expel the French from Flanders—Battles at Turcoing—and Pont Achin—Valour of the English Troops—Decree of the Convention for giving them no Quarter—The French several Times pass the Sambre and are repulsed—But gain great Advantages in other Quarters—The People of Flanders shew Symptoms of Disloyalty—The French take Ypres—Bruges—Tournay—and Dinan—Battle of Fleurus—The French take Charleroi—Arrival of the Earl of Moira—Who with Difficulty joins the Duke of York—Rapid Success of the French—Transactions on the Rhine—The French surprised at Kaiserlautern—Battle of Edikhoffen—The Allies evacuate the French territory—The Republicans invade the Electorate of Treves.*

**W**HILE in possession of Toulon, the allies made CH. XIII.  
 great efforts to increase the distress for provision 1793.  
 which afflicted the French nation, but the plan was  
 impeded in its effect, and finally frustrated, by the  
 persevering partiality of Tuscany and Genoa. From  
 the port of Leghorn the French obtained constant  
 supplies of grain and military stores, while the govern-  
 ment



CH. XIII. ment could only by threats be induced to furnish the  
 1793. British fleet with a few bullocks. On the cession of Toulon to the English, De la Flotte, the French minister had sufficient influence to induce the Tuscan government to sequester a large quantity of grain purchased for the supply of that port, nor was the sequestration removed but on the most vigorous remonstrances from lord Hervey, the British minister. The merchants to whom the corn belonged were imprisoned, and when their release was obtained by lord Hervey, claiming them as under the protection of Great Britain, a project was formed by De la Flotte, the French chargé des affaires, for seizing one of them, and carrying him on board the republican frigate *L'Imperieuse*, then in the road. The English minister being apprised of this plan, redoubled his solicitations for the surrender of the grain, and finally lord Hood detached admiral Gell with a squadron to support lord Hervey in demanding the immediate expulsion of De la Flotte, and a stern requisition on this subject was succeeded by the seizure of *L'Imperieuse*. The grand-duc at length consented to discontinue all intercourse with France, and unite with the allies \*.

Measures of equal vigour were pursued at Genoa, where the possession of property in the French funds, joined with the influence of fear and corruption, secured to France a formidable party in the senate.

\* See Rose's Naval History of the War, vol. I. p. 54.

Tilly, the French chargé des affaires, was permitted CH. XIII.  
1793. privately to negotiate for, and transmit contraband stores in Genoese vessels to the army of Italy, and the superior French force in the port insulted the English, and on many occasions violated the laws of nations by attempts against British ships. As the French were avowedly protected in these proceedings by the government of Genoa, and all satisfaction refused, admiral Gell directed the Scipio, a ship of seventy-four guns, to take out of the road the French frigate La Modeste. The crew had already abandoned her, and deposited her effects in magazines on shore, but the English forced the gates and seized the stores. The admiral then insisted on the immediate dismissal of Tilly, and on the refusal of the Genoese, blockaded the port; the affair was discussed in London by the Genoese envoy, but the British government, after a full investigation, directed the commissioners at Toulon to maintain the proceedings of admiral Gell as just reprisals, and demand the dismissal of Tilly; the blockade was, however, raised, and the examination of Tilly's conduct not terminated when the British fleet evacuated Toulon\*.

The national convention did not fail to exclaim loudly against the conduct of Great Britain in these two instances, and their anger was still more inflamed by the probability that Corsica would fall into the

\* See Rosés's Naval History of the War, vol. I. p. 58.

CH. XIII. hands of their enterprising enemy. General Paoli, at  
 1793. the head of a formidable band of insurgents, was known to be courting the protection of England. Numerous denunciations had been made against the Corsican general, and he was ordered to attend at the bar, but excused himself on the plea of ill health. Soon afterwards a body of insurgents gained possession of Isola Rossa, disarming and expelling a detachment of troops of the line. Alarmed at these appearances, the convention dispatched commissioners to conciliate the people, and as a preparatory measure, repealed their decree against Paoli. The efforts of his partisans had, however, outrun these proceedings; they  
 26th May. held a consulta at Corte, elected him generalissimo, and adopted several other resolutions, indicating a system of independency. The legislature of France expressed violent resentment at these measures, but their means of enforcing submission were not equal to their indignation, and in every exertion made by their partisans in the island they were worsted; four fifths of the people espoused the cause of Paoli, and nothing was left to France but the towns of Calvi,  
 27th July. Bastia, and San. Fiorenzo. The thunders of the convention were levelled against the general, who with Pozzo di Borgo, Peretti, Negròni, and Tartarolli, his chief adherents, and several public officers, were *put out of the law*, and decreed in a state of accusation.

A British fleet in the Mediterranean and the capture of



of Toulon afforded a favourable opportunity of gaining CH. XIII.  
 that co-operation in behalf of the Corsicans which 1793.  
 experience had demonstrated to be essential to their  
 maintaining a successful struggle against France. In  
 consequence of repeated applications from Paoli,  
 captain Linzee was dispatched with three ships of the  
 line and two frigates, to blockade the three ports re-  
 maining in the possession of France, assuring the  
 French garrisons of safe conduct to their own country,  
 provided they would surrender their posts. The com-  
 modore attempted to execute his instructions, but  
 without success. The natives did not faithfully second  
 his efforts, his force was inadequate to the blockade  
 of all the ports, and after an attack on the tower and  
 redoubt of Fornilly, opposite San Fiorenzo, 30th Sept.  
 in which his squadron sustained considerable  
 damage, and after some other disasters, he returned to  
 Toulon, having only succeeded in impeding the com-  
 munication between San Fiorenzo and Bastia.

During the remaining period of lord Hood's 1794.  
 possessing Toulon, Paoli maintained a constant  
 correspondence with him, inviting and soliciting a  
 detachment to take possession of the island in the name  
 of the king of Great Britain. After the evacuation  
 of Toulon, the British admiral, receiving authentic  
 accounts of the distress of the garrison, and of a strong  
 reinforcement which the convention were preparing  
 to send, employed his whole force in acquiring a  
 territory which to both parties appeared so valuable.

CH. XIII.

1794.

7th Feb.

His operations were some time delayed by bad weather, but at length the coasts were blockaded, and a landing effected. An attack was directed both by sea and land against the town of Mortella, a post commanding the anchorage of the western side of the gulph; the Fortitude and Juno, which assailed it from the sea, were compelled by a well-supported discharge of red-hot ball, to desist from the enterprise, but the army persevering during two days, 10th. the garrison, only thirty-three in number, were obliged to capitulate.

Artillery was next established on the heights commanding the anchorage, seven hundred feet above the sea, a labour which was accomplished by the incessant perseverance of the British sailors. The French were then driven from the redoubt of the Convention, and evacuated Fornilly and San Fiorenzo.

19th.

General Dundas, who commanded the land forces, declining the attack of Bastia, Lord Hood undertook it with the naval force and marines alone, and after a close siege of six weeks

11th April

to

22d May.

compelled the garrison to surrender. Calvi now alone remained in the hands of France, and for the protection of that, a fleet was equipped at

10th June.

Toulon, and a considerable number of ships sailed out, but being pursued by the British admiral, took refuge in the shoals in the road of Gourjean, where they were protected by the batteries on the islands of St. Honora, Margaretta, and cape

Garoupe.

Garoupe. As the British fleet could not attack them Cn. XIII.  
 in this position, they were watched by admiral 1794.  
 Hotham, and the siege of Calvi being pressed with  
 great vigour, the place surrendered in fifty-  
 one days. Before the surrender of Calvi, a <sup>10th Aug.</sup>  
 new constitution was formed, and agreed to by the  
 British government, in virtue of which the island was  
 annexed to the crown of Great Britain, with limita-  
 tions promising happiness, freedom, and a considerable  
 share of importance, to the people.

The government of Genoa thought fit to revive  
 their claim to the possession of the island, but it was  
 treated with deserved contempt, though the Corsicans  
 were prohibited from continuing their wonted hostilities  
 against the Genoese trading vessels\*. In the partiality  
 exhibited towards the French it is probable, however,  
 that the republic of Genoa intended only to retain its  
 independence with the greatest possible profit, and the  
 smallest risk : if the preponderance of naval power in  
 the hands of the allies gave some inquietude  
 on the score of commerce, the capture of <sup>6th April.</sup>  
 Oneglia by the French, which brought their army so  
 immediately into the neighbourhood of Genoa, could  
 not but excite alarms as to the very existence of the  
 state ; and France, whose views were already directed  
 towards the destruction of this small republic, was not

\* See Gazettes and State Papers ; and Rose's Naval History of the War, vol. 1. p. 87.



CH. XIII. less strenuous in making unfounded claims than the  
 1794. allies were vigorous in repeating their complaints.

The termination of 1793, so flattering to the glory and interests of France, inspired the convention with redoubled eagerness to prosecute their advantages in the ensuing year. For this all their wonted means were called into practice: strong appeals were made to patriotism; and, to increase the operation of terror, it was decreed that generals convicted of misconduct should be executed at the head of their armies. Vigorous exertions were made to augment the number of land forces; and the mishaps attending the French fleets in all parts of the world rendered the government peculiarly anxious to raise a controlling armament on the ocean. The disorganisation of the navy could not, however, be so suddenly remedied as that of the army; at sea the success of battles depends on a scientific system embracing more details, and less capable of being deranged by sudden efforts of enthusiasm, than those on shore. To counterbalance the great losses sustained by their navy in 1793, France could only boast the capture of one British frigate of thirty-two guns, and one of twenty-four; they amused the people, however, with accounts of mercantile captures, which were sufficiently numerous to give hopes, and inspire expectations of aggrandisement, in a nation rather disposed to enjoy every present advantage than to connect causes with effects, or strike a cautious balance in the accounts of good and evil.

Early

Early in the year, the convention received with lively transport intelligence that three ships of the line had made prize of fifteen vessels in the Irish Sea; and they listened with equal applause to a report from the committee of public safety, in which, after unlimited abuse of the English nation for the late transactions in Corsica, and taunting reflections on the conduct of the British admiral for keeping the grand-fleet at Torbay, the committee announced that they had fleets and a plan of campaign, and swore in the name of liberty to conquer on the sea. How this oath was kept in the Mediterranean has already been mentioned; the period at which it was made was unlucky, as in three days afterwards, a squadron of English frigates under sir John Borlase Warren captured on the coast of France, after an engagement of three hours, *La Pomone* of forty-four guns, *Le Babet* of twenty-two guns, and, in pursuit after the action, *l'Engageante* of thirty-six guns.

Nor did the reflection on lord Howe, which was repeated by rote from some disaffected English publications, pass without practical reprehension. That valiant and judicious veteran put to sea at the moment his superior sagacity indicated as most proper, with thirty-two ships of the line, having in view three objects; first, to convoy an outward-bound East-India fleet; second, to engage the French fleet should it venture forth from Brest; and lastly, to intercept

29th Jan. Cra. XIII.  
1794.

20th.

23d.

May.

CH. XIII. intercept a rich homeward-bound West-India fleet on  
 1794. which France relied for many necessaries. The first part of his task being executed, and admiral Montagu being left with six sail of the line and a frigate to execute the last, lord Howe with twenty-six sail proceeded to effect that of engaging the Brest fleet.

This armament failed under the command of admiral Villaret Joyeuse, whose flag was hoisted on board the *Montagne* of a hundred and twenty guns, and whose motions were superintended by Jean Bon

St. André, a deputy on mission. The rival  
 28th May. fleets did not come in sight of each other

till the 28th of May, when a partial engagement took place, in which the French ship *La Révolutionnaire* of a hundred guns was resolutely attacked by the *Audacious*, a British seventy-four, and both sustained great damage. Both were compelled to put into port, but the place of the *Révolutionnaire* was supplied by a French ship named *l'Audacieux* of seventy-four guns, which continued Villaret's fleet twenty-six sail, while the British commander had only twenty-five with a

great inferiority of metal. The ensuing day  
 29th. another partial encounter took place, in which

the French line was broken, but no material consequence ensued except the disabling of a few vessels on each side. Those of the French were dismissed to their own ports, and replaced by a squadron under admiral Neilly, who had joined the French fleet during



during a fog, so that they still presented twenty-six Ca. XIII.  
 sail of the line in perfect condition. 1794.

On the 1st of June, the intermediate days 1st June.  
 having been tempestuous and foggy, the two  
 fleets came to a close engagement, each ship being  
 separately opposed by another as they could get into  
 action. After an hour's unintermitted fighting, in  
 which little manœuvre was displayed, the French  
 admiral gave way, and was followed by all the ships  
 in the van whose condition enabled them to carry sail,  
 leaving ten or twelve dismasted or crippled ships sur-  
 rounded by the English. Part of these were brought  
 off by those which had been less damaged in the action,  
 but seven ultimately remained in possession of lord  
 Howe, though one of them sunk before it could reach  
 a British harbour. The Vengeur, a seventy-four,  
 sunk during the action.

In narrating these events to the convention, 16th.  
 Barrere shewed considerable dexterity, and  
 an unprincipled disregard of truth. He considered  
 the whole event as a victory; boasted the safe arrival  
 of the long-expected convoy; affirmed that the English  
 was superior to the French fleet by fourteen sail of the  
 line, that ten had been dismasted in the action, and  
 three had foundered. He could not entirely conceal  
 the disaster attending the French armament, but he  
 palliated it by saying they had left seven dismantled  
 ships at sea, which he feared were lost. Jean Bon St.  
 André was somewhat more moderate in his report,  
 but

CH. XIII. but he grossly exaggerated the numbers of the British  
 1794. fleet; and both concurred in a story equally false and improbable, respecting the *Vengeur*, the crew of which, as they asserted, sunk into the deep with the tri-coloured standard flying, and with republican shouts and songs, refusing all aid from the victors. This statement is in every respect the reverse of true: the British was substituted for the republican ensign, no songs were uttered, nor any cries but those of anguish and solicitation for aid; the unfortunate crew spread themselves over the sides and rigging of the ship, imploring assistance, and the numbers who sprang on board the boats sent out to their assistance were so great as to threaten destruction to the British sailors employed in the office of humanity. It was even a remarkable circumstance that the English government having permitted French corps to be taken into their pay, many individuals of the crew of *Le Vengeur* enlisted in a regiment raised by the brave count d'Hervilly\*.

While these naval events occurred in Europe, the British government employed a fleet of five sail of the line, nineteen frigates, and a bomb vessel, with a land force of six thousand and eighty-five men, in an attempt to gain possession of the French colonies in the West Indies; an exploit to which they were incited by the disaffection generally prevailing among the white inhabitants, and which the French increased by per-

\* See Gazettes; debates in the Convention; Rose's Naval History, vol. I. p. 158.

severing in exertions for the abolition of negro slavery, CH. XIII.  
 and receiving deputies from those colonies as an 1794.  
 integral part of the republic. The British  
 fleet sailed from Barbadoes for Martinique 3d Feb.  
 early in February, under sir John Jervis, the land  
 forces commanded by sir Charles Grey, who  
 was afterwards joined by prince Edward, 4th March.  
 fourth son of George III., who came from Grenada  
 for that purpose. The reduction of the island was  
 not effected without great difficulty, as general  
 Rochambeau made a valiant defence, but 23d March.  
 he was at length obliged to surrender Fort  
 Bourbon, with the rest of his strong holds, and finally  
 the whole island was yielded to Great Britain.  
 Saint Lucie surrendered without any con- 4th April.  
 siderable resistance, and the British com-  
 manders in their way towards Guadaloupe 10th.  
 took possession of Les Saintes, a cluster of small islands  
 between that colony and Dominica. Guadaloupe  
 made a brave defence, and was only subdued by  
 degrees; but the English having gained all the strong  
 posts, Collot, the French commander, yielded on the  
 same conditions as had been before required, those of  
 returning to France with the whole garrison under an  
 engagement not to serve against Great Britain or  
 her allies. Notwithstanding these liberal articles of  
 capitulation, the garrison formed a project the day  
 after the surrender for rising and murdering the  
 English,



**Ch. XIII.** English, but it was discovered and prevented by the  
 1794. vigilance of general Dundas\*.

Having achieved these important conquests, and received reinforcements from Europe, the British commanders directed their attention to the island of St. Domingo, where vigorous hostilities had already been recommenced, both by the English and Spaniards, and a great number of posts had fallen into their hands, and among others Leogane and Tiburon; Port-au-prince, the residence of the French commissioners and capital of their side of the island, was also blockaded. After some judicious manœuvres in placing the ships to batter fort Bissoton, the fire of which gradually decreased, it was taken by 31st May. assault, by a party of sixty men, who made this bold attack during the horrors of a West-India thunder-storm; the French retreated with precipitation from their other posts, and the capital fell into the hands of the English†.

All these transactions were, however, in their origin and progress considered of far less general importance than the campaign of the allies on the frontiers of France. Towards that great object all eyes were turned as affecting the general fate of the civilised world; while the capture of West-India islands, the

\* Gazettes; Rose's Naval History, p. 100; Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in 1794, by the Reverend Cooper Willyams, chaplain of the Boyne.

† Gazettes; Rose's Naval History, p. 125.

annexation of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain or CH. XIII.  
1794.  
the republic of France, the defeat of a French naval armament, or even a preponderance acquired in the territories of Genoa or Tuscany, seemed to relate more exclusively to the peculiar interests of two contending powers. To prepare for the ensuing campaign in Flanders was the end of the greatest exertions by both parties, the French taking the utmost care to augment their forces, and to inspire enthusiasm, or at least a contempt of life, by all the influence of persuasion and terror. The latter principle of action swayed no less in the camp than in the city: the deputies on mission had their informers, their revolutionary tribunal, their executioners, and their *guillotine ambulante*. Prudence, moderation, and decency in dress (called in the modern jargon *muscadinism*), were sufficient to deprive those who cultivated them of rank and liberty. The generals in order to be popular were obliged to attend the political clubs, and any attempt to restrain the privates in the exercise of their charter of quitting their posts to make harangues and motions at these assemblies, was a sufficient sacrilege against holy equality to warrant denunciation.

Jourdan, though successful in raising the siege of Maubeuge, was dismissed from the 5th Feb.  
army of the north, and replaced by Pichegru, who was for that purpose transferred from that of the Rhine. He received with his command no instructions for his proceedings but “an imperative and ridiculous  
order

CH. XIII. order to conquer," and in his conferences with the  
 1794. ministers at Paris, he was vaguely directed to attack  
 the allies in the centre, and in the mean time to harass  
 6th Feb. their flanks. About the period of Pichegru's  
 removal, the duke of York, accompanied by  
 colonel Mack, proceeded to London, and arranged  
 with the British cabinet the plan of the campaign, in  
 which it was understood that his royal highness was  
 to command all the allied armies, excepting that im-  
 mediately under the prince of Cobourg, together with  
 an expected reinforcement of sixty-two thousand  
 17th March. Prussians who had been subsidised by  
 Great Britain. On his return to Valen-  
 ciennes, the duke, accompanied by general Clerfaye,  
 held a council of war preparatory to the renewal of  
 hostilities.

The exultation with which the French viewed the  
 termination of the late campaign was rather founded  
 on evil avoided than advantage acquired; the allies  
 were still in possession of Condé, Valenciennes,  
 Quesnoy, and many other places, and encamped in all  
 points on the territory of the republic, while the  
 French had taken from them only a single village.  
 But the further hopes of France were founded less on  
 the valour of their troops than on the probability of  
 being able to dissolve that alliance, which, if unbroken,  
 must ultimately have exhausted all their means of op-  
 position, and compelled them to expend their strength  
 in an unavailing contest. Divisions and jealousies  
 were



were said to be already prevalent between the emperor CH. XIII. and the king of Prussia, and to them were attributed 1794. the disasters which attended the close of the late campaign on the Rhine. The duke of Brunswick quitted the army, not concealing his 20th Jan. opinion nor his resentment; the emperor, on the other hand, removed Wurmser from the command, but avowed his jealousy of a secret negotiation between Prussia and France, which had for its object certain secularisations by which the possessions of Frederick-William were to be aggrandised at the expence of the empire. The Prussian cabinet also affected, contrary to every appearance, and all reason, to suspect that Austria and England were disposed to negotiate separately with the republic, and that the emperor saw with jealousy the portion assigned to the house of Brandenburg in the partition of Poland\*.

At this period the emperor published a proclamation, recalling to all the states of the 10th Feb. empire the danger which should unite them in resisting an enemy bent on the destruction of royalty, nobility, religion, and property; inviting the circles to rise *en masse*; and requiring that those which had not yet contributed to the common defence should furnish a treble contingent. This demand was not well received by the minor princes of the empire, and the king of Prussia took the opportunity to acquire their esteem,

\* *Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. III. p. 86.*

and

CH. XIII. and to repel by a proclamation the insinuations  
 1794. which had been made against his sincerity. He trusted no credit would be given to such calumnies; he had never been actuated by interested views, nor had ever any other aim but the welfare of the empire, and the maintenance of the Germanic constitution. He had exhausted his treasures in the common cause, nor was it possible for him to continue such great exertions at his own expence. The raising of the people *en masse* he declared would ruin agriculture; time would be wanting to drill and discipline such a number of recruits; and the agitations which French opinions would diffuse in the minds of men would be rendered doubly dangerous when so great a multitude were furnished with arms. This proclamation was no less a triumph to the partisans of the French cause than a disappointment to the emperor; the rising *en masse* did not take place, and the contingents were slowly and ill supplied.

The suspicions to which many circumstances in the conduct of Frederick-William had of late given rise, were still further confirmed by a late visit, which commissioners from the convention paid to general Karlstreu at Frankfort. The ostensible purpose of their journey was to negotiate an exchange of prisoners; but the state in which they travelled, and many other circumstances, led to conjectures, which were publicly expressed, that the exchange of prisoners was not the only object of the conference; and it was also  
 remarked,

remarked, that subsequently to this period, the French, both in their debates and publications, treated Prussia with great delicacy and appearance of distinction. CH. XIH.  
1794.

The king of Prussia urged to the elector of Mentz, that he could no longer sustain the expences of the war; that indemnities were due to him from the empire; and that the circles must provide for the maintenance of his troops, or he must withdraw them; and he speedily notified his <sup>13th March.</sup> intention to furnish only his contingent as elector of Brandenburg, ordering general Mullendorff, who had succeeded the duke of Brunswick, to fall back with his army on Cologne, and leave near Mentz only twenty thousand men, under general Karl-<sup>5th April.</sup> reuth. He was, however, induced by the negotiations for a subsidy from England, and by the repeated solicitations of the states of the empire, to continue his troops in their former station, which was considered as a great acquisition, though it might have been foreseen that little advantage would be derived from so capricious an ally\*.

Before these negotiations and disputes were <sup>March.</sup> terminated, the campaign began; the French having formed a great number of encampments to accustom their recruits to military movements, and afterwards assembling a greater quantity of troops round

\* State Papers; Règne de Frederic-Guillaume II. vol. III. p. 90.



**CR. XIII.** Cambray and Guise, for the purpose of driving the  
 1794. allies from the celebrated fort of Mormal, and forming the siege of Quesnoy. They began by attacking

the Austrian posts at Cateau Beauvais and  
 29th. Solemes, which they had carried; but the Imperialists rallying, obliged them to retreat with the loss of six hundred men killed and wounded. Some jealousies and differences of opinion, which prevailed in the allied army, obliged the emperor to take the chief command in person; and having been  
 16th April. reviewed on the heights near Cateau, they proceeded in eight columns, executing a difficult and extensive movement, which however succeeded in every direction, and commenced  
 20th. the siege of Landrecies, the conduct of which was committed to the hereditary prince of  
 21st. Orange. To raise this siege, an attack was made on the advanced posts of the prince of Cobourg, at Blocus and Nouvion: at the former the French were defeated, but Nouvion was carried, and general Alvinzy obliged to retreat; some success on the part of general Wurmb rendered this, however, an event of small importance.

Apprehensive that he could not succeed in raising the siege of Landrecies, and yet not daring to infringe the orders of the committee of public safety to persevere in attacking the centre of the allies, Pichegru collected, in Cæsar's camp, a force of thirty thousand men under Souham, and twenty thousand under Moreau,

ready, for the purpose of making a detached  
 invasion of West Flanders. General Otto<sup>23d.</sup>  
 being sent to reconnoitre them, an engagement en-  
 sued, in which the French were driven into Cambray  
 with loss, but the defeat was not of sufficient conse-  
 quence to prevent their persevering in their original  
 enterprize. While the subordinate generals were em-  
 ployed in this incurſion, Pichegru advanced<sup>26th.</sup>  
 in five columns, drove in all the outposts and  
 picquets of the besieging army, attacking along the  
 whole frontier, from Treves to the sea; but in the  
 progress of the day he was utterly defeated, and pur-  
 sued to the gates of Cambray with great loss, both in  
 men and artillery. Pichegru, however, re-<sup>29th.</sup>  
 turned to the charge on the 29th, assailing an  
 almost impregnable post, defended by general Clerfaye,  
 at Moucron, and by his success retrieved the disaster  
 of the former conflict, besides animating his troops  
 with the confidence resulting from a first victory.  
 Courtray was taken at the same time; and the  
 next day Menin, no longer tenable, was eva-<sup>30th.</sup>  
 cuated, after a siege of ten days only, in which the  
 garrison did not make a resistance proportioned to the  
 strength of the place, or the expectation of govern-  
 ment. Landrecies had now surrendered, and Piche-  
 grü, convinced of the impracticability of the plan re-  
 commended by the committee of public safety, desist-  
 ed from further attacks on the centre of the allies.  
 He would not even attempt the recovery of Landre-  
 VOL. I. K K cies;

CH. XIII. <sup>1794.</sup> cies ; but, leaving small garrisons in the central fortresses, to prevent surprise, projected a combined movement with the army of the Ardennes, and taking Beaumont, made some incursions between the Sambre and the Meuse.

10th May. Numerous skirmishes took place during the early part of May, and on the 10th an attack was made on the duke of York near Tournay, in which the French were defeated, and three thousand killed. General Clerfaye, at the same time, attempted to drive them from Courtray, but a reinforcement was judiciously thrown into the 11th. town ; and in an engagement which took place the ensuing day, Clerfaye was driven back into his original position at Thielt. During this conflict, the left wing of the army of the North, united to that of the Ardennes, crossed the Sambre, and took momentary possession of Fontaine l'Evêque and Binch, which, however, they were obliged to relinquish on the appearance of an Austrian force.

The armies of the North and Ardennes, again partially united, were at this time under the tyranny of St. Just and Le Bas, who stimulated the troops to exertion by perpetual threats of execution in case of failure ; threats which from them could never be considered idle or nugatory. Pichegru had formed plans for passing the Sambre, and besieging Charleroi, but they were frustrated by the precipitation, violence, and



and ignorance of those who controlled him and super-  
 seded his authority. CH. XIII.  
 1794.

To expel the French from Flanders became  
 a principal object of the allies ; and for  
 this purpose, after many skirmishes, in which Lannoy,  
 Turcoing, Roubaix, Mouveaux, and all the great  
 posts in the road from Lisle to Courtray, were  
 taken by the duke of York, a general attack  
 was made under the eye of the emperor himself ; this  
 attempt was rendered unsuccessful by delays in two  
 columns, which ought to have forced the passage of  
 La Marque, but whose tardiness left open the com-  
 munications between Lisle and Courtray, and deranged  
 the whole plan of operations, though in detached  
 points the allies gained several advantages.

Early in the ensuing morning, the republicans  
 attacked in great force the post at Turcoing ; two  
 battalions of Austrians, detached by the duke of York  
 to make a diversion, failed in returning to him, and  
 thus left an opening on his right. The French,  
 pouring in torrents of troops on every side, had com-  
 pletely surrounded the British battalions ; but these,  
 with much difficulty and loss, cut their way through  
 and effected a retreat. The chief attack was directed  
 against the British troops, but other exertions were  
 made, and the contest lasted the whole day, terminating  
 generally in a manner favourable to the French.  
 They took, according to their own accounts, fifteen  
 hundred prisoners, and sixty pieces of cannon ; but it

Ch. XIII. is on the other hand asserted that they left on the field  
 1794. four thousand slain, while the allies lost only three thousand.

In their estimates of the successes of this day  
 22d. the opposing armies widely differed: the duke of York, in his public orders, declared he had little to regret besides the loss of so many brave men; while Pichegru, believing the allies to be destitute of artillery, made a general attack on their right wing, with a hundred thousand men, intending to force the passage of the Scheldt and invest Tournay. The attack began at five o'clock in the morning, and the French, continually bringing up fresh troops, continued it the whole day; about three o'clock in the afternoon, the right wing of the allies, being greatly fatigued, began to give ground, when the duke of York detached seven Austrian battalions, and the second brigade of British infantry, to their support. The spirit and perseverance of the English soldiers decided the fate of the day; they stormed the village of Pont Achin, rushed, with fixed bayonets into the heart of the French army, and threw them into such confusion that they could never be rallied. The allies lay on their arms that night, expecting a renewed attack in the morning; but the French retreated to Lisle, Pichegru having made the most judicious arrangements to preserve his army from being turned or assailed by the cavalry. Such a battle has seldom been fought; the republicans were in action under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry

musketry upwards of twelve hours; twelve thousand CH. XIII  
of their men were left dead on the field, and five 1794.  
hundred taken prisoners: the loss of the allies was  
estimated at four thousand.

On the same day general Beaulieu took the town of  
Bouillon by storm, and gave it up to plunder, as a pu-  
nishment on the inhabitants for firing on the Austrians.

The spirited conduct of the British troops, <sup>26th.</sup>  
though but a very small number, on all these <sup>occasions</sup>, rendered them at once the admiration of  
the allies and terror of the French. Their heroic  
valour, which ought to have gained them respect,  
kindled the fury of the republican government; and  
the convention was base enough to concur in a pro-  
position made by the committee of public safety,  
decreeing that in future no quarter should be given to  
British or Hanoverian troops. This savage <sup>29th.</sup>  
edict was recommended to the army by an <sup>address</sup>, the production of Barrère: some of the  
troops expressed their detestation of such a system;  
and some generals resisted the mandate of the deputies  
on mission, who wished to compel an observance of  
the odious law; but others were found ready to  
execute the decree of the convention: some Hano-  
verian prisoners were shot, and a republican general,  
to stimulate his troops by his example, put one to  
death with his own hand\*.

\* I would not assert this fact unless clearly proved, and it is so  
by the avowal of a republican writer; see History of the Campaigns  
of General Pichegru by David, p. 56, English translation.



CH. XIII.

9th June. The duke of York explained and expatiated  
 1794. on this savage decree in general orders to his  
 troops, which were conceived in moderate and manly  
 terms, befitting a soldier, whose profession was dis-  
 graced by such an attempt to abolish the laws of  
 humanity, and a guardian of the subjects of his  
 august father, who were thus invidiously singled out, as  
 people to whom alone the ordinary regulations of  
 civilised nations ought not to be extended.

20th May. In the mean time the French army, pressed  
 by St. Just and Le Bas, had repassed the  
 Sambre, recaptured Fontaine l'Evêque and Binch,  
 and partially invested Charleroi; they were  
 24th. however again routed by general count  
 Kaunitz, with the loss of five thousand men killed,  
 wounded, and prisoners, and fifty pieces of cannon.  
 The loss was, however, compensated on another side,  
 where a portion of the army of the Moselle was placed  
 under Jourdan, and received the name of the army of  
 the Sambre and Meuse; this force, consisting of forty  
 thousand men, invaded the duchy of Luxemburg,  
 took possession of Arlon, and obliged Beaulieu to fall  
 back on Marche, in order to cover Namur. The duke  
 of York's position at Tournay was thus rendered for  
 several days very precarious, as a great portion of the  
 allied army was obliged to fall back to cover Brussels  
 and Ghent, and the prince of Cobourg marched the  
 principal part of his army to their relief. St. Just  
 and Le Bas, ignorant of tactics, and still persevering to  
 sacrifice

sacrifice the lives of the soldiery for the attainment of Cn. XIII.  
 a proposed point, again compelled the troops to cross 1794.  
 the Sambre and commence a blockade of  
 Charleroi, and again they were repulsed, and 3d June.  
 forced back to their former position, by a sally of the  
 garrison, assisted by some troops from Tournay.

The increasing strength of the French armies,  
 and their resolute pursuit of their object, gave a  
 gloomy aspect to affairs; the emperor, whose visit to  
 his Flemish dominions had been hailed with trans-  
 ports of joy, and who was complimented at Brussels  
 with the boastful flattery—*Cæsar adest, fremient Galli*,  
 found that the loyalty of his subjects was dependent  
 on the success of his army. The principality 26th.  
 of Liege had shewn such marks of favour to  
 the republican cause that a proclamation was judged  
 necessary, by which the place was put under the  
 military command of the prince of Wirtemberg, and  
 another enjoining all gun-smiths and other persons to  
 deposit their arms and ammunition in the town-house.  
 The progress of the French increased the spirit of dis-  
 affection, and when they had cut off all communication  
 from Brussels to Charleroi and Luxembourg, menacing  
 the investment of Charleroi and Ypres, the male-  
 contents at Brussels publicly avowed themselves, and  
 planted the tree of liberty. The emperor quitted  
 the army, and returned to Vienna, visiting in his way  
 Brussels and Antwerp, where he issued a letter to the  
 states of Brabant, requiring a levy of five men in every  
 hundred,

CH. XIII. hundred, capable of bearing arms, to be incorporated  
 1794. in the old regiments. An answer was returned full of  
 promises, but which, considering the dispositions  
 already shewn, could hardly be regarded with con-  
 fidence.

5th June. Ypres, the key of West Flanders, was  
 blockaded by the French, their besieging  
 army amounting to thirty thousand, and their cover-  
 ing army to twenty-five thousand men. General

7th. Clerfaye having advanced to relieve the place  
 with a force of fifteen thousand men only,  
 was attacked at Rousselaer and Hoogleden, but drove  
 back the assailants. Having received reinforcements

13th. from the prince de Cobourg, he became in  
 turn the assailant, and had considerable hopes  
 of success; but, overpowered by numbers, was obliged  
 to fall back to Thielt, while general Hamerstein  
 retreated to Bruges. During the three ensuing days,

17th. he made perpetual efforts, and fought several  
 skirmishes; but on the fourth he was attacked  
 by the republicans, and driven to Ghent, which he  
 reached with great difficulty, and found the communi-  
 cation with Oudenard entirely cut off. Ypres imme-  
 diately surrendered; general Walmoden found himself  
 no longer able to retain Bruges; and the duke of York,  
 evacuating Tournay, retired to Renaix, hoping to

24th. support Oudenard, which the French had  
 summoned to surrender.

Meanwhile the army of the Sambre and Meuse had  
 joined



joined the right wing of the army of the North, so often Ca. XIII.  
 defeated before Charleroi, and having taken 3d June. 1791.  
 Dinan, again crossed the river, in the face of  
 the Austrians, and began to reconstruct the 12th.  
 works for prosecuting the siege. They 16th.  
 were, however, again defeated, and driven  
 beyond the Sambre; but Pichegru, who com-  
 manded them, in two days resumed his station, con-  
 fident in superior forces, and determined, at all events,  
 to succeed. The prince of Cobourg, on this occasion,  
 abandoned Tournay, leaving the defence of the  
 Scheldt to the duke of York, and withdrawing all his  
 posts from before Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and the  
 other French towns in his possession, to fulfil the more  
 important task of succouring West Flanders. For  
 this purpose he spent two days in prepara- 26th.  
 tion, and then made a general attack on the  
 posts of the enemy; and after a very long and severe  
 action, the allies were defeated in every point, and  
 forced to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the field  
 of battle. This decisive engagement was fought on  
 the plains of Fleurus, and confirmed the fate of  
 Flanders; Charleroi had surrendered the preceding  
 day, and the prince of Cobourg was compelled, on the  
 approach of the republicans, to retreat from Halle,  
 leaving Brussels to its fate. The allies were thus  
 obliged to forego all hopes of retaining possession of  
 Flanders, as their force, which consisted originally of  
 a hundred and ninety thousand men, was reduced  
 to

CH. XIII. to eighty thousand, while that of the republicans was  
 1794. increased to more than three hundred thousand.

26th June. About the same period, the earl of Moira arriving at Ostend with seven thousand men, found Ypres and Thorout on one side, and Bruges on the other, in possession of the French ; and, despairing

28th. of rendering effectual assistance in any other quarter, pressed forward to join the duke of York, taking his route through Bruges to Malle. General Vandame was in the neighbourhood with twenty thousand men, and would have fallen on the English force, but for an ingenious deception of major-general Doyle, the British quarter-master general, who made the burgomaster of Bruges believe the army consisted of fifteen thousand men, and that as many more would arrive the same evening ; intelligence which was conveyed to the French general, and

1st to prevented his attacking the English troops.  
 9th July. The junction was not effected for several days, during which the French took possession of Ostend, and marched towards Ghent ; the prince of Cobourg being again defeated, they gained possession of Mons ; the duke of York was obliged to retreat from Renaix to Gramont, and subsequently to Asche, Malines, and Konticq, while the French rendered themselves masters of Ghent, Oudenarde, and Tournay. The plunder to which they addicted themselves was unrestrained by principle or shame ; “ the representatives

representatives on mission, the commercial agents\*, CH. XIII.  
 and the army commissaries, ruined the unhappy country 1794.  
 of Belgium for a long period. Will it readily be  
 believed, that lace, and articles of a like nature, were  
 put in requisition under pretence of providing for the  
 wants of the troops†?" The French army of the  
 Sambre and Meuse, being joined by that of the North,  
 pressed their advantages on every side, and, after a  
 series of skirmishes, possessed themselves of Brussels,  
 where their deputies on mission sat in dread- 11th to  
 ful state, issuing orders of blood and plunder. 27th July.  
 The republicans halted in positions reaching from  
 Liege to Antwerp, while the Austrians defended  
 the banks of the Meuse from Ruremonde to Maef-  
 tricht: the troops of England and Holland having  
 retired beyond Breda, were encamped at Osterwist,  
 and a corps was posted at Ludhoven to keep open the  
 communication between the armies. Malines, Lou-  
 vain, Judoigne, Namur, Antwerp, Tongres, Liege,  
 St. Amand, Marchiennes, Cateau, and other places,  
 had already been evacuated; and Condé, Valenciennes,  
 Quesnoy, and Landrecies, abandoned to their own  
 strength, were invested by the republicans, who were  
 fortified by the additional terror of a barbarous decree

\* These were monied men, who attended the French armies, advancing cash for occasional equipments, on condition of being repaid out of the spoils and plunder of places where the French were successful.

† Copied from Pichegru's Campaigns, p. 46.



CH. XIII. of the convention, forbidding them to give quarter to  
 1794. any of the garrisons unless they surrendered on the first summons\*.

Fortune was equally favourable to the republicans on the Rhine, where the indecision of the king of Prussia combined with other circumstances to render their career prosperous. The resignation of the duke of Brunfwick was preceded by the capture of Spire and Kaisers Lautern, and followed by the evacuation of fort Vauban, after an ineffectual attempt to blow it up by springing of mines. Several skirmishes afterwards occurred, but no action of importance till the

king of Prussia had consented to continue the  
 24th May. alliance; then marshal Mullendorff, who succeeded the duke of Brunfwick, surprised the French in their entrenchments at Kaisers Lautern, put them to the rout with great slaughter, and captured many prisoners and some artillery. But no attempt was made to prosecute this successful exploit with further advantage; the month of June passed in skirmishes; but, early in July, the French, having by great reinforcements acquired the desired superiority in numbers, 12th to 15th July. attacked the allies at Edikhoffen, and after an obstinate contest, which lasted four days, drove the Austrians across the Rhine, and compelled

\* The narrative of these events is derived from David's History of the Campaigns of Pichegru; Captain L. T. Jones's Historical Journal; and an anonymous History of the Campaign of 1794, in 8vo.

the Prussians to fall back towards Mentz; this action CH. XIII.  
determined the fate of the campaign in that quarter, 1794.  
as the allies evacuated twenty leagues of the French  
territory, and enabled the republicans to invade the  
electorate of Treves.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Cruelty of Government—Massacres in the Departments—Cruelties of Carrier in La Vendée—Priests, Women, and Children, massacred—Republican Marriages—Barbarities in other Departments—View of Paris—Robespierre's Report on the Revolutionary Government—State of the Prisons—Progressive Misery of the Captives—Spies in the Prisons—The Prisoners stripped of their Property—Peculiar Cruelties to Women—Mode of feeding Prisoners à la Gamelle—Treatment of the Sick—Horrors of the Night—Mode of delivering Accusations of Accusation—Increased Power of the Revolutionary Tribunal—Persecution of particular Classes of Men—Trial and Execution of the Princess Elizabeth—Of M. de Malešherbes and his Family—D'Estaing—The Duke de Biron—Thouret—D'Espremenil—Isabeau d'Yjouval—Lavoisier—Roucher—Baron Trenck—Dispute between the Jacobins and Cordeliers—Efforts of Hebert—He is imprisoned—Tried with nineteen others—Condemned—His pusillanimous Behaviour—Courage of Anacharsis Clootz—Their Execution—The Club of Cordeliers falls into Insignificance—Bazire, Julien of Thoulouse, Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Desmoulins, Danton, and some others, arrested—Their Conduct*



*Conduct in Prison—Trial—Candemnation—and Execution—The Widow of Camille Desmoulins suffers Death, with General Arthur Dillon and Gobet—Observations on the Views and Fate of Danton and Camille Desmoulins—Robespierre's Exertions against Atheism—A Supreme Being and the Immortality of the Soul acknowledged—but an idolatrous System of Worship established—Attempt to assassinate Collot d'Herbois—Pretended Attempt on Robespierre—The Assassins, with sixty supposed Accomplices, put to death—Robespierre President of the Convention—Festival in honour of the Supreme Being—Popularity of Robespierre—Abject Homage paid to him—Opposition begun in the Convention—Views of Robespierre—He absents himself from the Committee of Public Safety—Increased Cruelty of Government—Enormous Expences—Great Scarcity—Preparations for a great Exertion—Proceedings in the Convention on a Speech made by Robespierre—His Reception at the Jacobin Club—Saint Just attempts reading a Speech in the Convention—Contest between Robespierre and his Opponents—He and several of his Partisans arrested—They are rescued—Surround the Convention with an armed Force—The Convention outlaw Robespierre and his Adherents—They are attacked in the Hotel de Ville—Taken Prisoners—Robespierre grievously wounded—His Agony—He and his Adherents sentenced to death—Their Progress to the Guillotine—and Execution—Seventy-two Members of the Commune also executed without Trial.*

FROM

## CH. XIV.

1794.

FROM these scenes of carnage, where the horrors of death are diminished by the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," the attention is called to contemplate transactions not less sanguinary, though infinitely more disgusting, exhibited in the internal government of France. Terror, avowed as a system, stalked over the land, dealing on every side the blow of fate; and extinguishing love, mutual confidence, honour, and pity. The various devices for proving treason, or treasonable inclinations, gave vigour to a host of spies, informers, and persecutors, some of whom were in the pay of government; some hoped to conciliate favour, and others thought, by denouncing their nearest relations or most intimate friends, to avoid those persecutions, of which a moment might make them the victims. No man could consider himself sure of an hour's life, yet no man was permitted to prepare himself for death; and he who dared to express or inculcate a hope of a better existence beyond the grave, incurred imminent danger of being sacrificed as an incorrigible fanatic.

Yet no motive of safety, or hope of advantage, stimulated the rulers of France to so profuse a waste of human blood: no formal opposition to their ascendancy existed in the convention, nor could insurrection venture to lift her head in any of the departments. At an early period of the year

8th Jan.

Charette was expelled from the isle of Noirmoutier,

tier, and the last hopes of the royalists seemed to CH. XIV.  
have expired : but the termination of fear did not 1794.  
terminate the vengeance of government ; every inhabited place of La Vendée, and every district presumed accessory to the insurrection, was a monument of blood and insatiate revenge. The deputies sent on mission to these parts were purposely selected from the most barbarous, ferocious, and brutal of the people ; they carried to exaggeration the fashionable manners of the Cordeliers, adding to the disgusting deportment, obscene diction, and unrelenting cruelty, required by the prevailing disposition in Paris, all the violences which an unbridled indulgence in the worst and most detestable passions could prompt, or the most diabolical imaginations could invent. Carrier was the delegated tyrant of La Vendée, and he raised to his name monuments of horrible celebrity, before which the barbarians of all times and nations but his own seem comparatively innocent. He publicly excited the people to pillage and murder the rich ; he publicly reproached the judges for permitting scruples of any kind to prevent the condemnation of criminals ; he mingled with his cruelty and extortion a brutal jocularity, not less afflictive to the mind than pain was to the body of the sufferer ; he dismissed petitioners who pleaded for their friends or relatives, with reproaches, threats, and even blows ; the consequence of these barbarities was universal dread, general desolation, and in individuals the mental agony often occasioned delirium



CH. XIV. delirium and death. An instance is even recorded  
 1794. where the executioner was so affected with the innocence and graces of six young ladies perishing on the same day under his hands, that he was seized with a profound melancholy which terminated his existence in a week. Yet the directors of these barbarities were not merely unmoved, but satisfied with themselves. Carrier boasted of his cruelties; his dispatches to the convention were filled with accounts of destroying five hundred in a day, of burying four thousand and fifty in a single pit, and the convention applauded these ferocious narratives, enjoying as excellent wit the description of the guillotine under the name of the national razor, and the little window, and the noyade by the title of the bath, and of drinking in the great bowl.

But even these excesses were not equal to those by which the commanders of troops of the revolutionary army spread terror and devastation far and wide. Their savage atrocities combined the extremes of rapacity, cruelty, and lust: by them whole generations were swept away in brutal sport; the hoary grandfire, with the youthful props of his years, and his second hope the offspring of his children, lay in one general heap; women even in pregnancy, and children at the breast, were devoted to similar destruction. Priests, women, and children, were marked out for peculiar barbarities: priests were the first victims of the noyade, being put on board boats and ships under pretence of transportation; but when they were drowned,

drowned, Carrier amused the legislature with a joke CH. XIV.  
in his own style, that they were transported *vertically* : 1794.  
the unfortunate men, ignorant that they were destined to this unexpected death, cried out to their executioners for help, but their struggles and exclamations only occasioned mirth in these monsters, and if any were perceived making such exertions as promised to save their lives, they were dispatched with swords, poles, or pikes.

One Pinard, a member of the revolutionary committee, at the head of a troop of negroes and mulattoes, boasted that women and children were the favourite objects of his vengeance, and on them he exercised his greatest cruelties. The deputies and other agents of the convention were equally savage in their conduct towards that sex which seldom fails of finding protection where nature has not entirely foregone her rights, and the maltreatment of women forms the strongest evidence of hopeless depravity. The tragedy of colonel Kirk, which Englishmen regard with so much horror and shame, was frequently acted by these fiends of France, who even augmented the horrors of the catastrophe by sacrificing without remorse the unhappy objects of their brutal desire. One of the most horrible and wicked inventions for destroying with the individuals persecuted all sense of shame and decency in the surviving race, was the murder called a republican marriage. It was performed

**CH. XIV.** formed by tying two persons of different sexes face to  
1794. face stark naked; sometimes both the parties were young, sometimes both old, and occasionally the extremes of opposite age were thus conjoined; after these miserable victims had been thus exposed for an hour, and undergone the immodest derision and brutality of the deputies and administrators, they were cut down with sabres, and thrown into the river. In one day fourscore **women** were shot, and their carcases stript stark naked left for three days to astonish and shock all beholders. Another day saw five hundred children of both sexes, the oldest not exceeding fourteen years, submitted to a similar execution, with circumstances of cruelty too painful for description; and the deputies justified this dreadful carnage of unoffending innocence, by calling them young wolves who must be destroyed, young vipers whom it was necessary to crush. The Loire was discoloured with blood in a course of several miles; whole weeks were consumed in burying the dead, who lying putrid on the ground, and thrown on shore by the reflux of the sea, rendered the air pestilential; the unburied corpses of those who died in prisons, made those dismal abodes unsafe to persons confined, and to their gaolers; fish which had fed on so many human carcases could not be deemed fit food for man; the furies seemed in full possession of every mind, and the rage for extermination was not satisfied, though the desolation of the country



country and gloomy solitude of the towns bore CH. XIV.  
 dreadful testimony to the effect of their exertions. 1794.

It will not be expected that the historian shall renew this recapitulation of horrors at every part of the republic to which the narratives of the day call his attention, or that he shall pursue the odious detail of crimes committed under the name of law, by the dismal ministers of republican vengeance, at all the places where any symptoms of insurrection were alleged, or any appearance of wealth or ease provoked oppression. Those most distinguished in these transactions by their remorseless barbarity were Jean Bon St. André, Treilhard, and Lequinio, at Brest and L'Orient; Beaudot, St. Just, and Le Bas, in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine; Fouché, in the department of L'Aliier; Freron, Barras, Robespierre junior, Salicetti, and Isnard, at Marseilles and Toulon; Maignet, an ex-priest, in the department of Vaucluse, and particularly at a village called Bedouin; and Joseph Le Bon, at Arras. All these seemed to contend with each other for the palm of superior cruelty; they left far behind other persecutors and destroyers of the human race who were joined in commission with them, or who acted in other places: but all these, and even Carrier himself, were eclipsed by the dreadful ruffian Collot d'Herbois, who exercised at Lyons not only the same control over life, the same eagerness to depopulate, but was also commissioned to destroy the city, a charge executed with a degree of rigour which proved

CH. XIV. proved how congenial it was to his soul, and in which  
 1794. he refined on the cruelties, and exceeded the savageness and violence, of all those who were employed like himself in the task of extermination. The number of Frenchmen who fell by various means of destruction, on the scaffold, in the waves, and in the field, by the hands of Frenchmen, is estimated at 900,000, of whom 15,000 were women, and 22,000 children; and more than 20,000 dwelling houses were destroyed\*.

If from these scenes of slaughter and devastation the attention is turned towards the capital, it is only to see the principles from which such acts emanated, avowed, amplified, and reduced into forms calculated for more effectual and extensive practice. At an early period of the year Robespierre made <sup>31st Jan.</sup> a report to the convention on the nature and operations of the revolutionary government, in which he contrived, with singular art and sagacity, to impress general notions of virtue, mildness, and benevolence; while, by decrying the two extremes of coldness and ultra-revolutionary vigour, he subjected every man to a rigorous inquisition, which might declare him the enemy of the republic, and to persons of that description the revolutionary government owed not pro-

\* See on this subject Prud'homme, vol. V. and VI.; Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 247, et seq.; Histoire Philosophique, par Desadoards, vol V. p. 195, et seq.; and all the works relating to the period.

tection but death. The basis of his argument was CH. XIV.  
1794. that two extremes were to be avoided ; imbecility and temerity, moderantism and excess :—moderantism, which was to moderation what impotence is to chastity ; and excess, which resembled energy, only as the dropsy resembles health.

While such principles were avowed by government, and while the convention, ever ready to comply with the dictates of the committees, sanctioned every decree which could give force to their tyrannical will, the prisons of Paris were rapidly filled with devoted victims of every rank and class in life, and from all parts of the republic. Dwellings originally erected for prisons were soon found incapable of containing the crowds put in arrest ; and the palaces and houses of princes and noblemen which were confiscated but not sold, were converted into gaols. In these abodes misery had a progressive increase dependent on the ferocity of the governors, which appeared to augment with a rapidity and violence which defied calculation, and threatened to depopulate the realm.

When it was first judged expedient to replenish the prisons after the horrible evacuations of September, 1792, no peculiar hardships were inflicted ; and even afterwards when the decrees against suspected persons and foreigners had thrown vast numbers into gaol, they were not forbid to use their property in procuring necessaries, to receive at certain hours the visits of their friends, to maintain a free intercourse with each other,



CH. XIV. other, and to destroy the tedium of time and the pains  
1794. of reflection by such amusements as the nature of their situation could afford. The increasing number of prisoners, and a pretended love of equality among the superintendents of the prisons, soon diminished these enjoyments; the visits of friends were interdicted, but they could still present themselves in the gardens, and shew by gestures those marks of regard which they were denied opportunities of uttering in person.

In time, the vast accumulation of captives either begot fear in the government, or afforded a pretext for imputing to them plots which would shorten the formalities of process, and prevent enquiries into the original cause of detention, by condemning them to death for imputed crimes during their imprisonment. As a part of this system, the prisons were crowded with spies, who, according to the custom of such men, endeavoured to occasion appearances of the crimes they were employed to detect, by insolence, oppression, and particularly a wanton turbulence towards nobles, aged men, and priests. If any of these exhibited signs of irritation they were denounced as conspirators, and if any individual expressed compassion he was noted as an accomplice. Rigorous decrees of the convention and the commune were multiplied; all communication from without was prevented, nor were the friends of the prisoners permitted to salute them from the gardens. They were denied the privilege of communication with each other except in public, and  
could

could no longer receive victuals from taverns or their own houses. The administrators of the police were instructed to deprive the suspected of knives, razors, scissars, and in general every thing made of metal, and all money and assignats exceeding fifty livres (2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*). This order produced a search in which brutality and indecency were combined. CH. XIV.  
1794.

New decrees pointed out new objects of suspicion; and the activity of the agents was such, that victims from every part of France were daily sent to the Conciergerie, the prison in which they were first received, and afterwards distributed into others, or sometimes sent to the place of execution without delay. During the whole revolution, a constant hostility seems to have been maintained against women; their morals were studiously depraved, or their persons cruelly oppressed, in every period, and under each form of popular government. The war waged against that sex in La Vendée and other departments caused the transmission of great numbers to Paris, for the purpose of terrifying others by example: "Fourteen young ladies from Verdun, of unexampled modesty, and appearing like virgins decorated for an hymeneal feast," says an author who was prisoner in the Conciergerie\*, "were led together to the scaffold." Their crime was dancing at a ball given by some Prussian officers in 1792. "Twenty women from Poitou," the same

\* Riouffe, Mémoires d'un Détenu.

CH. XIV. author proceeds, “ mostly poor peasants, were like-  
 1794. wife assassinated together. I see them still, unfortunate victims, stretched in the court of the Conciergerie, overwhelmed with the fatigues of a long journey, and sleeping on the pavement. Their looks, expressive of no intelligence on the fate which threatened them, were like those of oxen heaped up together in markets, who gaze steadily and stupidly about them. At the moment of conducting them to the scaffold, they snatched from the breast of one of these unfortunate persons, a child which she was nourishing, disregarding the piercing cries of maternal affection : several women died in the cart, but the executioner guillotined their carcases.”

The rigour of government and activity of spies and administrators at length filled all the prisons so much that lodgings could not be found in the cells, but many were obliged to take up their abode in the galleries ; and the crowd, dirt, and want of air, introduced pestilential diseases which occasioned the most horrid ravages. Brutal gaolers, selected from the most abandoned of mankind, made their sport and profit of these miseries ; while the administrators of the department, as well for the sake of avoiding trouble as from a love of cruelty, frequently added fresh rigours and new restraints, till all property was taken from the captives, and their day admitted only of a single meal, which lasted an hour, of three hours’ recreation, and the remaining twenty hours were spent in close confinement,



confinement. The meal allotted to the prisoners was CH. XIV.  
1794. not divided into separate portions, but placed on the table in one great dish, from which the prisoners, deprived of their knives and forks, were to snatch their shares; this was a new homage to the god equality, and called feeding *à la gamelle*. The victuals thus distributed were not only insufficient, but so bad that the alternative of famine could alone render them eatable. Even the scanty and wretched allowance thus supplied was embittered with threats that it should be soon discontinued; and the prisoners, cut off from all communication with mankind, and deprived of all property, anticipated starving or a general massacre as a termination of their woes.

When the complication of wretchedness brought on disease, the state of the prisoners was inexpressibly deplorable. Application for the means of relief passed through so many channels, that many died before a physician or the most ordinary drugs could be obtained. The physicians, as they were called, appointed by the commune to superintend the prisoners, were uniformly ignorant and brutal; and under their care, and in an infirmary with bare walls and barred windows, which excluded the air, the patients, two in a bed, awaited such relief as could be expected from water-gruel alone, or expired unpitied and unrecorded. The numbers who perished in these miserable abodes occasioned an opinion that they were poisoned: this notion, improbable in itself, was countenanced by the ferocity

Cn. XIV. ferocity and brutal jocularity of the agents of govern-  
 1794. ment, but the circumstances in which the victims were placed account for the rapid mortality without supposing the intervention of extraordinary means. "Pregnant women," says M. de Montgaillard, "have died in the English convent, now a prison, in the *rue des Fossés St. Victor*, in the Luxembourg, and in the *Grand Carmes*, for want of the relief necessary in their condition. 'Tis so much trouble saved to the executioner, said Billaud de Varennes, when he was asked to order a physician for the prisons. In one single chamber forty persons are confined. Many have petitioned the committee of public safety and the public accuser of the revolutionary tribunal to send them to the scaffold. Couthon wrote the following answer to one of these petitions : *Woman (citoyenne), you have not yet been long enough in a situation that makes you wish for death\**." To all these miseries were exposed not only the subjects of France, but on some occasions prisoners of war, and particularly general O'Hara, whose spirit the French vainly thought to bend by continual efforts of malignity and cruelty†.

\* Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 67.

† This general always retained the blunt manners and incautious integrity of a British soldier. Some of his fellow-prisoners making an insulting comparison between the governments of England and France, "I will prove our superior liberty," said the general, "by one plain argument : If I were in London, I could if I thought so, say king George is a scoundrel ; now is there one of you that dares say Robespierre is a tyger."

When

When they retired to their cells at night, the horrors of the day were not to be dismissed from the memory or imagination; no cries but the barbarous pleasantries occasioned by numerous executions were suffered near the walls, and these were uttered in a piercing tone which struck terror into every heart. Sometimes in the dead of night the prisoners were summoned into the court-yard, and objects selected by torch-light for the next day's execution. The acts of accusation were also delivered to the prisoners at the same season, the messenger hawking them through the galleries with revolutionary facetiousness, under the title of "the evening post." Those to whom they were delivered sometimes could not read them for want of light; and if they could, it would have availed them but little; they were generally the same in substance; the crime alleged and the witnesses the same. They were made out by the inferior agents of Fouquier Tainville, written in a hand scarcely legible and misspelt. The petulance of these wretches often indicated the fate of the person to be accused by some jocular expression, as, *Let us send this woman to her beloved spouse*; and at the top of one of the acts of accusation was written, "*A head to be chopped off without mercy.*" The change of the abode of prisoners, made capriciously and unrecorded, often rendered the delivery of these acts matter of difficulty; but the impatience of the messengers, and the promptitude of the revolutionary system, obviated delay. If the person designat-  
ed

CH. XIV.  
1794.



**Ch. XIV.** ed was not to be found, some one whose name ap-  
**1794.** proached to his in found, or who had some relation or  
 connection with him, supplied his place. It was vain  
 to remonstrate; the answer was ready: "We were  
 ordered to take ten, twelve, or fifteen persons from  
 this house, and will not go away without our number;  
 you may as well take this act of accusation as not, for  
 you certainly must have one sooner or later. \*"

All the decrees of the preceding year did not appear  
 to the governors of France to have invested the revo-  
 lutionary tribunal with sufficient means of tyranny  
 and destruction; a chance was still left by which  
 innocence might be acquitted, or the insufficiency of  
 proof might prevent the jury from passing  
 10th June. sentence; but every such possibility was pre-  
 vented by a law enabling the juries to pronounce  
 sentence without any evidence but their own internal  
 conviction of the prisoners' guilt. The course of  
 destruction was thus rendered extremely rapid, as  
 whole lists were condemned without any ceremony  
 but that of reading their names; no prisoner was  
 permitted to speak in his own defence; and it often  
 happened that those designated for slaughter were left  
 in the prisons, while those who bore the same or a

\* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I., article Benoit, and the  
 authorities there cited. To which may be added, *Les Erreurs, &c.*  
*par Prud'homme*, vol. VI.; *Histoire de la Révolution*, par deux  
*Amis de la Liberté*, vol. XII.; and *Histoire Philosophique*, par  
*Desadoards*, vol. V.

similar name, or who voluntarily placed themselves CH. XIV.  
 instead of the intended victim, were sent to the scaffold 1794.  
 without examination. The numbers marked out for the day's execution were called *batches*; many of these were composed of persons whose only crime was their birth, or accidental station in life. Nobles, priests, *fermiers-généraux*, members of the parliament of Paris, or even of the constituent assembly, were doomed to general destruction\*; and a relationship with them, or even an appearance of respect or commiseration, was considered so dangerous that engravers broke the copper-plates on which likenesses were engraved, lest they should be brought as evidence of counter-revolutionary projects. Entertaining counter-revolutionary projects, favouring the progress of the enemy, degrading the national representation, or creating conspiracies in the prisons, were the most frequent grounds of accusation; but a word or a look was sufficient to insure condemnation; and many women whom despair made desirous of death, while nature shuddered at the thought of suicide, made the executioner their assassin, by merely crying *Vive le Roi*. The early

\* "I saw," says Riouffe, "five-and-forty magistrates of the parliament of Paris, and thirty-three of that of Toulouse, go to the scaffold with the same dignity that they formerly displayed in public ceremonies; I saw thirty *fermiers-généraux* march out with a firm step and unruffled countenance; and I saw five-and-twenty of the most respectable merchants of Sedan go to death, without expressing a regret, except for ten thousand labourers whom their murder would deprive of employment."

operations

CH. XIV. operations of the revolutionary tribunal sent only ten  
 1794. or fifteen daily to the scaffold, but the carts were  
 subsequently loaded with sixty or fourscore victims ;  
 still the prisons were more and more crowded, and it  
 was even intimated that the suspected would be shot,  
 two thousand at a time, in the Champ de Mars\*.

Among the vast herds who were thus daily  
 butchered, some excited particular notice by their  
 misfortunes, their former rank, or their conduct.  
 The princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. fell a  
 victim to the rage of republicanism against all that  
 remained of royalty. Her whole life had been exempt  
 from reproach, and remarkable only for benevolence  
 and piety. She was brought before the  
 10th May. court of death, charged as an accomplice in  
 the imaginary crimes of her brother and his queen ;  
 on her trial not a single witness was produced, and  
 the interrogatory, though urged with all the petulance  
 and brutality of judges without morals and without  
 feelings, obstinately bent on condemnation, produced  
 no fact on which an inference of guilt could be  
 founded, except that subsequently to the death of her  
 brother she had treated her nephew with peculiar  
 regard and distinction, and directed his attention to  
 such topics as were calculated to console him for the  
 loss of his parents. This was deemed proof of a con-  
 spiracy to re-establish royalty ; she was condemned to

\* Mémoires d'un Détenu ; Tableau des Prisons, vol. IV. p. 68.



death with twenty-four other persons \*, many of whom she had never seen, and none of whom she had been able to converse with since the 10th of August, 1792, but who were all convicted as accomplices in this unproved and unfounded conspiracy. The princess was executed last, and bore her fate with the serenity of innocence, fortified with religious resignation, and the assured hope of a better life †.

CH. XIV.

1794.

M. Lamoignon de Maleherbes had been considered, during the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. one of the best, most enlightened, and most worthy men in France ; but his last public act, that of appearing as counsel for his sovereign, had given a reverence to the consideration of his character approaching that which is paid to superior natures. This circumstance, which exalted him so much in the estimation of the wise and good, pointed him out to the French government as a fit object of persecution ; he was arrested on a charge, arising out of letters which were sent to him during the trial of his august client, of having corresponded with the enemy. At the age of seventy-four, he was confined in the prison

\* Among them were all the relations of the cardinal de Lomenie, archbishop of Sens, formerly prime-minister, and one of the three bishops who took the oaths prescribed by the constituent assembly : he had long been devoted to contempt under the nickname of *cardinal de l'ignominie*, and would have shared the fate of his family, but, when the officers came to arrest him, he put an end to his life by poison.

† See Procès des Bourbons, vol. III.

VOL. I.

M M

called

CH. XIV. <sup>1794.</sup> called la Bourbe, with his sister, his daughter, his son-in-law, and their two children. Even in this dismal abode his virtue procured him respect, and his associates in misfortune assigned to him a place at the head of the common dining-table, which he refused, as not being the oldest man in company. The gaiety resulting from the recollection of a well-spent life, and the courage of a virtuous mind, never forsook him. He had addressed a letter to a friend, relative to his situation, in which he mentioned with exultation the confidence reposed in him by Louis XVI. and took honour to himself for having conducted his defence. This letter having come under the inspection of the register, was returned to him, with an intimation that its contents might expose him to danger. He took it back, saying, "You are right, I may be guillotined for having written it;" and remained for some moments in a state of indecision; then returning it to the register, said, "What does it signify? Let it go; it contains my opinion, and I should be a coward to conceal it." The letter was intercepted, and formed a charge against him on his trial. When removed to the Conciergerie, he was recognised by one of the prisoners, who, in the burst of respectful affection, threw himself at his feet. "My good friend," said Maleherbes, raising him up, "do not wonder to see me here; I have taken it in my head to turn scoundrel in my old age, and have got myself committed to prison." He read his act of accusation with a contemptuous exclamation, "*Mais s'il y avait,*

*au moins, le sens commun !*" As he went down stairs CH. XIV.  
 to the revolutionary tribunal, he happened to trip, and 1794  
 observed, with a smile, that it was a bad omen ; an  
 ancient Roman would have turned back  
 again. He was found guilty and executed, 22d April.  
 with his whole family. His fortitude, it is agreed by  
 all writers, never forsook him, but the circumstances  
 of his execution are differently related : one author  
 states that he was murdered before his daughter,  
 who, losing in filial affection the sense of her own  
 situation, exclaimed to the executioner, " Wretch,  
 you are going to kill my father !" Another says that he  
 ascended the fatal scaffold, after witnessing the execution  
 of three generations, collateral with, and descending  
 from, himself, his heart agonised by the sight of their  
 sufferings, and his white hair bedewed with their  
 blood\*.

D'Estaing, who had from the beginning of the re-  
 volution acted with a duplicity conformable to the dis-  
 honour of his early life †, fell a sacrifice to  
 its career ; he was considered as a counter- 28th April.  
 revolutionist,

\* See Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, art. Malesherbes, Lamoignon, Le Pelletier, Rozambeau, and Chateaubriant ; Miss Williams's Letters. ed. 1795, vol. I. p. 216 ; and Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

† In the seven-years' war, he was taken prisoner in India, and broke his parole ; in the American war he conducted an expedition against Grenada and some other islands in the West Indies, where he succeeded



CH. XIV. <sup>1794.</sup> révolutionist, and executed, without being respected or lamented by any one. The duc de Biron was similarly dishonoured, by flying in the first national assembly from the prerogatives of his rank ; by concurring in the atrocious schemes of the duke of Orleans ; and, finally, by giving up the son of his friend to the vengeance of his persecutors. Either from kindness to his person, or to insure his ruin, he was intrusted with a command in La Vendée, from which he was soon deposed, and sent to prison. In this abode his senses seemed to return ; he deplored, with fervour, the crimes he had committed against his sovereign ; and justly ascribed his fate to the prevalence of those principles which he and his faction had laboured to introduce. On going to the scaffold, he saluted his fellow-prisoners with the dignified air of an old cour-tier, and submitted to his fate without repining.

Among others who had been conspicuous in the early periods of the revolution, and victims to its progress, were Thouret, who had shewn a desire to accommodate himself to the prevalent opinion, whether for monarchy, or a republic ; and D'Esprémenil, who,

succeeded by dint of numbers alone ; but at Savannah he failed, though opposed only by an inconsiderable force, and made his failure ridiculous by his vain-glorious boasting, and his name detestable by his pride and cruelty. At the beginning of the revolution he was made commander of the national guard at Versailles, and published some ridiculous but malicious letters, which he wrote to the queen, and on her trial appeared as a witness, though his deposition did not materially affect her.

after

after having been the idol of the people for his opposition to the court, while a member of the parliament of Paris, was held in detestation, and threatened with massacre for his attachment to the monarchy. These two went together to the scaffold, and D'Espréménil, struck with the identity of their fate, notwithstanding the repugnance of their conduct, said, "This day, M. Thouret, gives us a dreadful problem to solve: against whom of us two will the hootings of the mob be directed?" "Against both, believe me," answered Thouret. If this reply afforded a dreadful specimen of the fate attending adventurers in revolutions, that of Isabeau d'Yjonval, formerly chief clerk of the parliament of Paris, shews, in a striking view, the difference between the old and the modern system. The revolutionary tribunal, before which he was tried, sat in the hall which had been occupied by the parliament. "You must recollect this hall," said the president to him with a sneer.—"Yes," he answered, "this is the place where innocence formerly sat in judgment on crime, but where criminals now condemn the innocent."

In most of these executions some plea of policy might be alleged; the influence, political talents, or former popularity of the sufferers, might afford a motive for their destruction; but in some instances, exclusively of women, persons seem to have been sacrificed merely because they were celebrated, when their lives were too reclusive, and their manners too unobtrusive,

CH. XIV.  
1794.

22d April.

CH. XIV.  
1794.

five, to give alarm, even to the most jealous and feeble government. Such were La Voisier, the famous chemist, to whom fame was too kind in giving him the reputation of a system which he did not invent, and fate too severe in sending him to a scaffold he did not deserve: he petitioned only for a few days' respite, to witness the result of some experiments; but the request was denied, with a brutal reflection, that the republic wanted good citizens, and not good chemists. Roucher, author of a poem called "*Les Mois*," was condemned to death, though guilty of no crime. During his captivity he contrived to maintain an affectionate correspondence with his wife and daughters; and on the day when his judgment was announced, he fate a last time for his picture, and transmitted it to them with four lines of exquisite tenderness, terminating his days like the fabled swan, in sweet harmony\*. Equally cruel was the fate of the celebrated baron Trenck, who, after astonishing the world with accounts of his sufferings in his own country, by order

\* The verses were,

Ne vous étonnez pas, objets charmans et doux,  
Si quelqu'air de tristesse obscurcit mon visage;  
Lorsqu'un savant crayon dessinait cette image,  
On dressait l'échafaud, et je pensais à vous.

Imitated by Miss Williams:

Lov'd objects, cease to wonder when ye trace  
The melancholy air that clouds my face;  
Ah! while the painter's skill this image drew,  
They rear'd the scaffold, and I thought of you.

of



of an arbitrary monarch, found his death in France, CH. XIV  
 where he expected safety under the fostering wings of 1794.  
 a philosophical republic \*.

But while the wantonness of some of these sacrifices, the injustice of others, and the illegality of all, shocked reasoning and upright men in all parts of the world, a sensation widely different was excited when those who had been most forward in promoting acts of violence and cruelty were, in their turn, sacrificed to their own principles, and doomed to feel the pain they had, in their day of pride and upstart wantonness, inflicted on others. Mention has already been made of the dissension which was beginning to arise between the clubs of jacobins and cordeliers, the *epuration* of the former, and the unpopularity of the latter society. Robespierre's report on the revolutionary government was levelled no less against them than against the aristocrats, between whom he affirmed there was an intimate connection; the *red caps* being more nearly related to the *red heels* than they were willing to avow.

Hebert, aspiring to be the leader of the cordeliers after the death of Marat, began, according to his model, to libel the enriched patriots, publishing, in *Le Père Duchesne*, a virulent invective against Lacroix, accompanied with some strokes at Danton, and he denounced Barrere at the jacobin club. He soon found, to his cost, the difference between the objects of Ma-

\* Tableau des Prisons; Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans.

CH. XIV. rat's calumny, the court and the feuillans, and those  
 1794. whom he had chosen to assail : Robespierre, who had  
 resolved on the destruction of the cordeliers, as well  
 as of Danton and several other of his colleagues, ob-  
 served, with satisfaction, that their division would ren-  
 der them the instruments of mutual destruction. He  
 determined to get rid of Hebert and his associates first,  
 as the most daring, atrocious, and dangerous. To  
 prepare the public mind for their destruction, Camille  
 Desmoulins, in a vein of wit which characterised his  
 writings, exposed those deities of the day to scorn,  
 and afterwards to hatred, by implicating them in  
 counter revolutionary charges, and stating, that *Le*  
*Père Duchesne* constituted the delight of Coblenz,  
 and the only hope of Pitt. Hebert, alarmed for his  
 safety, took advantage of Robespierre's illness, and  
 endeavoured, by means of the cordeliers, to excite  
 the people against the jacobins, but in vain. The sec-  
 tion of Marat declared itself in a state of insurrection,  
 but the rest of the city did not follow the example.  
 Hebert, from the tribune of the cordeliers, declared  
 that tyranny existed, and caused a veil of black crape  
 to be thrown over the rights of man. This  
 15th March. measure only precipitated his ruin : he was  
 arrested, together with Ronfin, Vincent, and several  
 associates, and conducted to the Conciergerie, tied  
 hand and foot. The joy of the prisoners was extreme ;  
 they considered themselves secure from another 2d of  
 Sep-

September; a fear which had haunted them during CH. XIV.  
 their confinement, while these sanguinary ruffians 1794.  
 governed the public mind.

In prison Hebert bewailed his fate, in the accents of effeminate despondency. Previously to his trial, he endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by declaring, in his journal, that he was not present at the cordeliers when the resolution passed to throw the crape over the rights of man; and that he meant not to glance at Robespierre when he attacked the enriched deputies. His assertions were calculated to ruin others, but not to save himself. When Ronfin, his fellow-prisoner, saw the publication, he observed that it was all idle prate, and that his only chance of defence was to have produced parallel passages from the papers of Marat.

He was brought before the revolutionary 21st March.  
 tribunal, together with nineteen others \*,  
 charged with a conspiracy, of the existence of which there was not a shadow of proof; but that did not prevent the jury from finding all the parties guilty, except Laboureaux. Hebert, petrified with terror, did not say a word in his defence. On returning to the prison, he gave way to fear and despair; he repeatedly fainted, and was at times delirious; he ex-

\* Namely, Ronfin, Vincent, Momoro, Ducroquet, Kok, Laurun, Bourgeois, Mazuel, Laboureaux, Aneard, Leclerc, Pereira, Latrelle, wife of Quetineau, Cloutz, Desfiaux, Descombes, Armand, Dubuiffon, and Proly.



CH. XIV. pressed a wish to die, yet had not that gloomy courage, the offspring of desperation, bordering on insanity, which leads to the commission of suicide. Cloutz alone, of all this worthless band, seemed to retain his resolution and principles. While in prison, he gloried in the blasphemous title of personal enemy to Jesus Christ; and in frequent disputes with Thomas Pain, who had recently published the *Age of Reason*, reproached him for retaining too many religious and political prejudices. On his trial he appealed to the human race, whose orator he had been; but none of his clients interfered, and he was condemned to death. The night which preceded their execution was passed by the rest of the condemned in complaint and mutual accusation, till Cloutz finished the dispute by repeating, with a loud voice, the apologue, beginning, "*Je revais cette nuit, que de mal consumé ;*" well known by the English translation,

" I dreamt that, gather'd to my fellow clay,  
" Close to a common beggar's side I lay," &c.

This quotation, convincing the disputants that all their differences would be soon compromised, by sharing one common lot, brought them to a more pacific disposition. He then exhorted them to die with resolution, and endeavoured to confirm their atheistical opinions, and stifle the reproaches of conscience. His efforts failed with most of his friends, who betrayed the most dreadful alarms; but Cloutz himself died

died with a firmness not to be expected from his principles. They went to the guillotine with the genuine and heartfelt joy of the inhabitants of Paris, who hoped to gain a respite from the sanguinary, immoral, and disgusting scenes, they had excited and applauded. The Parisians now ventured to wash their faces and wear clean linen; and the club of cordeliers, after a vain attempt to conciliate the jacobins, sunk into insignificance\*.

CH. XIV.  
1794.

The triumph over the cordeliers was not confined to the destruction of these men, who had rendered themselves odious and contemptible by their profligacy and rapacity; the more respectable division of the club, those who had shewn some talent in the course of the revolution, and who had even rendered considerable services to Robespierre, were also marked for destruction; Chabot, Bazire, and several of their relations and intimate friends, were already in confinement; Herault de Sechelles, Julien of 17th. Toulouse, Fabre d'Eglantine, and some other members, were arrested by order of the committee of public safety; and soon after the death of Hebert and his gang, to the surprise of all, and to the displeasure of many who could not venture openly to disclose their sentiments, a decree of accusation was issued against Danton, Camille Desmoulins, La- 31st March. croix, and some other members, as accomplices in

\* Biographical Memoirs, articles Hebert and Cloutz.

CH. XIV. plots against the sovereignty of the people, and safety  
 1794. of the republic.

Not one among the members included in this decree could reasonably complain of injustice on any general principle, yet all had a right to deem their destiny hard and unjust, considering the time and the persons by whom they were condemned. All were sanguinary, rapacious, and profligate, but all had rendered services to the revolution, and all had been invariably ranked among the most vigorous enemies of the court, the firmest friends of the people, and the political adherents of the party who now doomed them to destruction. The conduct of the individuals in confinement shewed the state of their minds, and the effect of their principles. Chabot, in his despair, swallowed a large quantity of corrosive sublimate; but antidotes being timely administered, he escaped instant death, though he suffered excruciating tortures. Camille Desmoulins was dejected and indignant at the treachery of Robespierre, who had been his fellow-collegian, and who spoke to him, the very evening before his arrest, with more than usual appearance of cordiality. Fabre d'Eglantine behaved with effeminate weakness; terror impaired his health, and he whined forth unmanly lamentations, weakly disguising the real cause under a pretended literary alarm, lest Billaud de Varennes should assume the credit of a play which had been seized among the papers of the prisoner. Danton, a giant among these pigmies of the revolution,



revolution, maintained the superiority of his character, even in his fall. Had he been apprised of the measures meditated against him, he had credit and energy sufficient to have turned destruction on the heads of his undoers; but, although taken by surprise, he did not give way to unmanly lamentation, or indulge hopes which he knew could not be realised. He seemed collected within himself, and anxious only to leave favourable impressions respecting his own character, and such suspicions as might turn to the ruin of his destroyers. His conversation, composed, as usual, of oaths and obscenities, was intermingled with vindications of his past conduct, expressions of regret at the state of the republic, ridicule of individuals in the committee of public safety, and praises of nature and rural life.

CH. XIV.

1794.

An act of accusation was framed from a report read by St. Just to the convention, 3d April. and Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay, Chabot, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Bazire, Herault de Sechelles, and Danton, deputies, together with d'Espagnac, a contractor, two brothers named Frey, also contractors, natives of Moravia, Gusman, a Spaniard, and Diedericksen, a Dane, were brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal. Fabre d'Eglantine, incapable of recovering from his mental depression, had an arm chair allotted to him, and appeared in great agony; but the lofty courage of Danton imparted spirits to the rest. Several made characteristic

CH. XIV. **Characteristic answers to the interrogatory respecting their**  
 1794. **age and places of abode.** Camille, being thirty-three years old, made a profane allusion to the residence of our blessed Saviour on earth : Danton said his abode would soon be in the state of non-entity, but his name would be found in the pantheon of history ; and Herault de Sechelles said he was called Mary-John, names not apt to fail even among the saints : “ Before the revolution,” he added, “ I had a seat in this hall, where I was detested by the members of the parliament.” Lacroix and Camille Desmoulins interrupted the reading of the act of accusation, by expressing surprise at finding themselves involved with such contemptible knaves as d’Espagnac and the foreigners. Danton refused to answer interrogatories, unless confronted by Barrere and Robespierre, his accusers ; and amused himself, while they were putting them to him, by shooting paper bullets in the face of the chief judge. The president was obliged to dispatch a messenger to the convention, and obtain a decree empowering the jury to pass sentence on refractory prisoners ; but Robespierre and Barrere refused to attend, on pretence that there was a plot to assassinate them. Though Danton had no hope of saving his life, he made a defence, that it might be transmitted to the public. In vain the president endeavoured to silence him, his Stentorian voice drowned the tinkling of the bell. “ Prisoner,” said the magistrate, “ do you hear the bell ? ” “ President,” answered Danton, “ the

“ the voice of a man defending his life and character ought to silence your bell.” The people, unused to such boldness, expressed their disapprobation in murmurs. “ People,” he cried, “ form your judgment of me when you have heard me ; what I say ought to be heard, not only by you, but by all France : before six months are past, you will tear to pieces those who now sit in judgment on me, as well as the scoundrels by whose orders I am brought to trial. They have reduced you to slavery, and are now daily sacrificing you.” He was at length prevailed on to retire, under pretence of taking some refreshment ; and, in his absence, condemned, by virtue of the decree against contumacious prisoners, which had been just obtained from the convention.

Cn. XIV.

1794.

Sentence was passed at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six the whole party was carried to the guillotine. Danton submitted to his fate with fortitude, and even affected an extraordinary degree of pleasantry ; he quibbled with Fabre d'Eglantine, the poet, on the words *vers*, which signifies *worms* as well as *verses* \*, conversed cheerfully as he sat in the cart with his fellow-sufferers, and answered the insults of the mob by looks of piercing contempt and indignation. His boldness in meeting death procured respect, and even sympathy, which his general character would not have excited, and which was assiduously

\* *Nous allons tous être poètes, car nous ferons des vers,*” was his pun.



CH. XIV. kept alive by his friends. They spread with diligence  
 1794. the report that his bare head, as he went to the place

of execution, resembled that of Socrates in the antique  
 gems. Camille Desmoulins suffered with equal firm-  
 ness; and his young, beautiful, and innocent widow,

9th April. was shortly afterwards sent to the scaffold, as  
 a pretended accomplice in a conspiracy with  
 general Arthur Dillon, in which Gobet, the apostate  
 bishop of Paris, was also included\*.

Of all these victims, no one could be considered the  
 head or centre of a party but Danton; he was beloved  
 by a great number of persons, and even those who  
 recollected with abhorrence his pernicious activity in  
 the transactions of September, 1792, and on some  
 other occasions, conceived hopes, from other parts of  
 his conduct, that through him a new system might be  
 formed, subversive of that of terror. It is affirmed,  
 and does not appear improbable from several of his  
 proceedings, that Danton had formed such a design,  
 that Legendre was joined with him in the project†,  
 and that they were aided by Camille Desmoulins.  
 Their intentions were perceived by Robespierre, and  
 resented, not because he was adverse to the end of  
 their design, but because he himself was ambitious  
 of terminating the horrors which disgraced and de-

\* See Biographical Memoirs, articles, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, and Gobet.

† See Garat's Memoirs, p. 203, et seq.

populated the country, but wished first to destroy those members of the convention and the committees whose talents and influence might have enabled them to thwart his views, or to diminish his importance by sharing it. Thus Camille Desmoulins drew destruction on himself, not by incurring the hatred of Robespierre, but by alarming his pride and self-love by the proposition of a committee of clemency, authorised to pardon crimes which did not spring from evil intentions. Had the idea been confidentially disclosed to Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins would not have suffered death; but being thrown out to the public in print, it was highly offensive, as it anticipated a measure of which Robespierre wished to assume all the merit, but which, in his opinion, was not yet ripe for execution, as he wished all the furious jacobins to render themselves completely odious by numerous assassinations and unbounded plunder, in order that he might shine with greater lustre as the means of terminating their hideous reign\*.

As a preparatory step to other reforms, Robespierre anxiously bent his thoughts to the recovery of France from the odious state of avowed atheism into which she had been plunged by the cordeliers; making his proceedings towards that end at once necessary to his popularity and revenge. He had the sagacity to yield to the popular fury, so long as the disqualification of

\* Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 85.

CH. XIV. { priests promised a saving to the state, or the plunder  
 1794. of shrines gratified the national avarice by new acquisitions of gold and silver; but when oppression was no longer profitable, and profaneness so flagrant as to grow disgusting, he checked their career, and in the jacobin club declared those who wished to prevent the ceremony of mass greater fanatics than those who performed it; and that, under pretence of destroying religion, a faction was endeavouring to make a religion of atheism itself\*.

7th May. After overthrowing the faction he had thus truly described, Robespierre began to execute his plan of restoring some semblance of religious freedom, by delivering in the convention a long report in the name of the committee of public safety, in which he ascribed many of the plots against the republic to atheists, and procured a decree in fifteen articles, which, in comparison to the late proceedings, might be deemed favourable to religion, though viewed separately it would appear calculated only to found a new species of idolatry. It formally acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and that the best worship consisted in practising the duties of man, and provided for the freedom of religious worship: but it also decreed that, on each decadi, festivals should be celebrated, the first to the Supreme Being; others to the

\* Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 85.



human race, or particular classes, as the French nation, and the martyrs of liberty; sometimes virtues were to be idolised, as modesty and integrity; sometimes abstract ideas, as liberty and equality; or passions or sentiments, as love, disinterestedness, and the hatred of tyrants: the nation was occasionally to celebrate the various stages of human life, as infancy, youth, old age; then its pursuits, as agriculture; its accidents, as success, misfortune; and sometimes the mortal causes and effects of man's present existence, his ancestors and posterity. So grateful, however, was the acknowledgment of a Deity and the immortality of the soul, in contradiction to the opposite doctrines which had been advanced, that Robespierre's report was ordered to be translated into all languages, and printed and distributed with profusion. CH. XIV.  
1794.

Before the day appointed for the first festival of this series, that to the Supreme Being, some events happened which occasioned general alarms, and changed the situation of Robespierre, by raising him still higher in the popular admiration, as an intended martyr of liberty. Collot d'Herbois, having returned from his labours of depopulation at Lyons, was a member of the committee of public safety, when a man named l'Amiral, who had formerly been in his confidence, but who was offended at some pecuniary arrangements, attempted to shoot him with a pistol. Collot was rescued, but the danger of so good a patriot filled all Paris with anxiety;

CH. XIV. anxiety; his escape was celebrated as a divine inter-  
 1794. position, and a pension of eighteen hundred livres  
 (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) was settled on Geoffroy, who had  
 bravely risked his life to preserve that of the deputy.

On his interrogatory, l'Amiral acknowledged that  
 his intention was to assassinate Robespierre as well as  
 Collot; but as the player had encountered all the  
 danger, he received the greater share of public  
 homage, when a new event gave Robespierre, through  
 the same means, and without the same danger, all the

honours which had raised his envy. Led by  
 23*d.* curiosity, or impelled by fanaticism, a young  
 woman, named Aimée Cecile Regnault, the daughter  
 of a stationer in Paris, called at Robespierre's lodging,  
 at nine o'clock in the evening, requiring to see him;  
 on receiving an answer that he was not to be spoken  
 to, she pertly replied that a public functionary ought  
 to be accessible at all times. These words were  
 sufficient to occasion her immediate arrest; she was  
 examined before the committees of public safety and  
 inspection; her answers were sometimes vague and  
 occasionally flippant, but it clearly appeared that she  
 had neither accomplice nor confidant. Robespierre  
 was, however, congratulated on his miraculous pre-  
 servation; numerous deputations implored the legis-  
 lature to watch over the lives of such valuable  
 members; Barrere accused Mr. Pitt of contriving the  
 plot; and Robespierre, with affected courage, boasted  
 his readiness to offer his life a sacrifice to the public  
 weal.

weal. On this occasion the decree was obtained for CH. XIV.  
1794. murdering all English and Hanoverians taken in battle; and l'Amiral and Cecile Regnault, with threescore others, without trial or examination, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against the republic. The monstrous iniquity of combining so many innocent persons as accessories with principals whom they had never seen, struck l'Amiral with surprise and indignation; he declared it was the only circumstance of his fate which gave him pain; and, apostrophising Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, in blunt and vulgar, though expressive, terms, he exclaimed: "Is the devil in you to accuse all these people of being confederates with me, who don't know and never saw them \*?"

In expectation of the day appointed for the festival in honour of the Supreme Being, 8th June. Robespierre got himself elected president of the convention, a nomination which was opposed by only three or four voices. David the painter contrived the pantomime, the course of march, pauses and embraces, the emblem representing the destruction of atheism, the dresses and decorations of the members and females, their tri-coloured plumes and scarfs, their garlands of oak, and their nosegays of flowers and wheat-ears. Robespierre harangued the people in the

\* See *Histoire de la Révolution*, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 298; *Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans*, article l'Amiral.



CH. XIV. gardens of the Tuilleries, and then proceeded to the  
 1794. Champ de Mars, where, among other devices, an artificial mountain was erected, to the top of which he climbed, while the rest of the convention gained inferior heights ; here he made another harangue to the people, and the day terminated with hymns and chorusses to the honour of the Supreme Being. Although great pains had been bestowed in preparing the exhibition of this day, it did not, in all respects, answer the intention of the projectors ; Robespierre gave offence by marching at the head of the legislature, at too great a distance from his colleagues, and still more by keeping them two hours waiting for his arrival ; he was not so cordially received as he expected, and an attempt to raise the cry of *Vive Robespierre* was not seconded by the multitude.

Yet in all parts of the republic the authority of this demagogue was at its greatest height ; the committee of public safety was devoted to his orders ; the convention in general moved only by the dictates of his will ; his name gave authority and popularity to all the acts of government ; and to him were more abject compliments, and a greater profusion of homage, paid than to all the crowned heads in Europe ; nay some tributes of adulation approached the style of Asiatic bombast and servility. He was styled “ the glorious incorruptible Robespierre, who covers the republic with his virtues and talents, as with a shield ; who joins to the self-denial of a Spartan or Roman of  
 early

early date the eloquence of an Athenian. Even the <sup>CH. XIV.</sup> tendernefs and humanity of his disposition were <sub>1794.</sub> praised ! One man congratulated himself on a personal resemblance to him ; and another, at the distance of six hundred miles, declared he was hastening to Paris to feast his eyes with a sight of him. He was compared, not by an individual, but by a body of people, to the Messiah, announced by the Supreme Being as the reformer of all things ; and afterwards he was said to manifest himself like the Almighty, by miracles. On some occasion a *Te Deum* was performed for him, the burthen of which was *Vive Robespierre, Vive La République \* !*"

To confirm this pre-eminence, and crush for ever all who could hope to rival him in the public favour, nothing was wanting but a relaxation of the system of terror, and a return to the long-neglected forms of justice and humanity. Hopes were entertained that such a reform was intended, when the celebration of the grand festival was marked as a day of mercy, the sittings of the revolutionary tribunal were suspended, the operation of the guillotine stopped, and all arrests forbidden. The next day but one, however, <sup>10th.</sup> crushed all these hopes ; when Couthon, in the name of the committee of public safety, obtained a

\* Trench's Correspondence, p. 194, from Courtois' report of 16 Nivose (5th January).

decree

CH. XIV. decree extending beyond conception the description  
 1794. of counter-revolutionary crimes, abrogating the necessity of proofs, depriving the prisoners of official defenders, and augmenting the number of judges and jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal. This decree did not pass, as all others had for a long period, without debate or animadversion ; when it was read, Ruamps exclaimed, “ If this law passes without discussion, nothing remains for the deputies, but to blow out their brains.” Lecointre of Versailles, Bourdon de l’Oise, and a few others, claimed an adjournment of two days ; but they were overruled by the art of Barrere and the violence of Robespierre, the latter of whom particularly insisted that he had defended the remaining adherents of the Brissotine party from the daggers of those who now affected to oppose a decree not more complicated or extensive than many others which they had sanctioned without hesitation.

11th. Notwithstanding this defeat, the new opposition party returned to the attack the next day ; and Bourdon, Merlin of Douay, Charles de Lacroix, Tallien, and a few others, objected to one of the offences mentioned in the decree, by the title of depraving the public morals. They were again attacked by Robespierre : Bourdon de l’Oise, who led the opposition, was driven to shifts, explanations, and tergiversations ; Tallien was publicly reproached with being a liar and patron of criminals, and Lacroix driven



driven to the necessity of withdrawing his motion for Ch. XIV.  
 an explanation of the words in the decree\*. 1794.

This victory over an incipient opposition would, if prudently used, have rendered the supremacy of Robespierre unassailable. Nothing popular formed the ground of objection, it was entirely confined to the safety of the individuals who complained; they admitted the law to be salutary, but feared it would be extended to representatives. Had Robespierre instantly caused them to be arrested, no portion of the public would have been interested in their fate; but he seems to have occupied his thoughts more with the means of gaining absolute power by one single exertion, than with revenge on a few members whom he thought too insignificant to produce any serious injury to his power and popularity. His aim was to let all his associates in power dip their hands deeply in blood and crimes, so as to render themselves odious to all mankind; then suddenly appearing the advocate of humanity, as he had already of some portion of religious toleration, to have united round him all the friends of the Gironde, all the supporters of the catholic faith, and the great mass of people whom oppression and blood had wearied and disgusted; and having by this division overthrown those whom he dreaded in the convention and committee of public safety, established a new system of govern-

\* See debates; Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 311, et seq.

ment,

CH. XIV. ment, in which every thing should have moved round  
 1794. him as the chief and centre.

For the execution of this project he wanted vigour and courage ; as a preparatory step, he withdrew from the deliberations of the committee of public safety for four decades, during which period the laws of blood and plunder were executed with redoubled fury. Impelled by Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, and St. Just, the guillotine worked with incessant energy, and the crowds in the prisons were daily augmented ; the labours of the revolutionary tribunal were reduced to the mere ceremony of reading lists of names, and deriding the prisoners ; while crowds of women placed in the streets, and paid by government, pursued the victims to the scaffold with screams, reproaches, and insults.

Finance was the subject of many pompous reports, but in reality it was apparent to every one that fraud and force were the only resources of government. Their expences were in all respects enormous ; and in the single charge of spies over the conduct of individuals, or, as they were called, committees of inspection, an annual expence of thirty-two millions of pounds sterling was incurred \*. The people felt all the miseries of famine ; commerce was annihilated, and industry suppressed ; the possession of wealth was certain destruction ; to hold any of the necessaries of

\* Trench's Correspondence, p. 189.

life, subjected the citizen to the insults of revolutionary CHI. XIV. plunderers, and the horrors of a breach of the law of 1794. *maximum*. There was in Paris a general want of bread, meat, milk, eggs, and even fuel. The depreciated paper money would not afford a sufficiency of these articles to support the wives and families of the labourers, and the difficulties sustained by the poor surpass description. When they complained of distress at home, they were directed to turn their thoughts towards the glories of the armies of the republic, to suffer with patience for the good of the country, and to impose on themselves voluntary fasts, or *civic lents*. The confidential friends of Robespierre proposed some measures calculated to gain popularity by promising relief, particularly Couthon, who made a report on a project for abrogating mendicancy; and Robespierre himself interfered, in the name of humanity and justice, in behalf of an insane fanatical woman calling herself Catherine Theos, the mother of God, whom some members of government were desirous of putting to death.

While Robespierre absented himself from the committee of public safety, it was supposed that he was arranging with his brother, Couthon, St. Just, and a few more intimate confidants, his future measures, and marking for his last and most important victims Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and a few members of the committee of public safety, with Tallien, Vadier, and some others of the most sanguinary individuals in the

the



CH. XIV. the convention. It is said that a list of his victims  
 1794. was disclosed to the committee of public safety; but without fixing extraordinary credit to this fact, it may be supposed that those against whom he had lately shewn a violent animosity could not without alarm view his mysterious behaviour, and must conclude that it betokened some dreadful design. A party was already combined, who intended, if other means failed, to assassinate him in the convention\*; but they made no vigorous exertion, nor did his plan appear to be animated with the energy requisite to the perfection of a great project. On the contrary, it is asserted, that while he saw on every side the friends of Danton, the individuals who were alarmed for themselves, and those who longed for change, as portending no possibility of greater evil, forming leagues against him; while anonymous letters threatened, and secret information pointed out dangers; he was harassed by remorse and fear, and lost all presence of mind†.

The jacobins, amongst whom were many friends of Danton, and many confidants of the Brissotines, did not enter with ardour into all the views of Robespierre; but maintained, on many occasions, a torpid indifference, which drew on them the reproaches of his brother. The ingratitude of Maximilian was now severely punished in the loss of three adherents whom he had sacrificed. The energy and resolution of

\* Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 57.

† Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XII. p. 366.

Danton, the eloquence of Camille Desmoulins, and the address of Fabre d'Eglantine, were ill supplied by the brutality and inconsiderateness of Henriot, the vulgarity of Couthon and St. Just, and the negative assistance and studiously concealed services of the abbé Syeyes and La Clos. Yet the habitual deference paid him, the strength of his party, united by a guilty fear, and the disunion of his opponents, occasioned by terror, rendered the event of a contest extremely precarious. He was known to possess an unlimited influence over the national guard, and the camps in the vicinity of Paris were devoted to him. The party in opposition did not know their own strength; for many who inwardly hated the tyrant, and saw in his destruction their only hope of safety, externally paid him the most servile homage, and, as well in his absence as when he was present, made his praises their favourite theme.

At length he threw down the gauntlet of hostility, and appearing in the tribune of the convention, after a long secession, in a prolix ill-connected speech, complained of the treatment he received from intriguers and calumniators, both abroad and at home: at the head of those abroad he placed the duke of York and Pitt; those at home he said he should not name, but intimated so strongly certain members of the convention, that several rose to exculpate themselves. Lecointre of Versailles moved that his speech should be printed, but Bourdon de l'Oise required a previous

Ch. XIV.

1794.

26th July.

CH. XIV. previous reference to the committees, against the  
 1794. members of which many of its charges were directed ; Cambon and Vadier complained of Robespierre's insinuations against them, and accused him of intending to destroy the patriots, and of paralyzing the will of the whole convention.

Couthon defended Robespierre, reprobated the system of calumny which prevailed, insisted that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the patriots and the intriguers, and that the speech should be printed without being referred to the committees, and sent to all the communes of the republic. A tumultuous debate ensued, in which Freron demanded the exemption of the members from arrest, adding, that no man could speak freely while influenced by that fear. Billaud de Varennes answered, that he whom fear hindered from delivering his opinion was unworthy the title of representative of the people. Barreré spoke a few equivocal words ; and Bентаbole, Charlier, Amar, Thirion, and Paris, joined against Robespierre. In the end, however, the matter took a favourable turn for the usurper, and the printing of his speech was ordered unconditionally, but the transmission to the communes was not decreed.

From the convention Robespierre hastened to read his speech at the jacobins, where it excited a general enthusiasm in his favour. Couthon denounced the two committees as traitors ; Coffinhal, a judge of the revolutionary tribunal, proposed the purification  
 of



of the convention, which was well understood to import the destruction of all the members except those devoted to his patron; and David, embracing Robespierre, promised if he drank hemlock to share the potion. CH XIV.  
1794.

The imminence of danger did not arouse the opponents of Robespierre to decisive 27th July. conduct. The convention met the next day, and business was proceeding in its usual channel, till St. Just, instigated by his evil genius, and inflamed by some reproaches directed against him by Collot d'Herbois at the committee of public safety, ascended the tribune, and, after stating that the committees of government had directed him to make a report on the state of the country, asserted that their remedies were insufficient for the existing grievances, and he would speak to the convention from himself. This exordium was considered as a presage of destruction; Tallien, gaining courage from the emergency, pushed the reporter from the tribune, complained of the audacity of individuals in attacking government, and demanded that the veil should be withdrawn. He was interrupted by Billaud de Varennes, who, from his seat, demanded an unequivocal explanation. He stated that the convention was between two precipices; the public force was in the hands of a man denounced by the committee, but who was retained in his command by an individual—that individual had for more than a month past plotted the dissolution  
of

CH. XIV. of the convention : that individual was Robespierre.

1794.

He deprecated tyranny, and asked if any member would wish to live under it.

Robespierre was, at first, thunderstruck ; he afterwards endeavoured to speak, but was prevented by the menaces of Tallien, who, drawing a dagger, and brandishing it in the eyes of his colleagues, said he would destroy him with it unless the convention delivered him to the sword of justice. After some amplification, he moved that the sitting should be declared permanent. His efforts were seconded by Delmas and Barrere, by Billaud de Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, who was president.

A decree was obtained for the arrestation of Henriot, d'Aubigni, Lavalette, Dufraisse, all the staff of the national guard, and a man named Sijas ; but they had not yet the courage to arrest the tyrant himself. While the president was arranging these decrees, Robespierre got possession of the tribune, but they would not permit him to utter a word ; "Down with him ! Down with Cromwell !" resounded from every quarter. As he persevered in his efforts to obtain a hearing, a member said to him, " Robespierre, you shall not speak ; the blood of Danton is upon your head, it flows into your throat, it chokes you !" " Ah, ah !" exclaimed he, grinding his teeth and foaming with rage—"ah, ah ! robbers ! it is Danton, then !" — He was heard no more ; Vadier, interrupting him, made a speech to unfold his tyranny, and all his iniquities :

iniquities : this blow completely overpowered him ; CH. XIV.  
 he cast a look of piercing indignation towards the 1794.  
 Mountain, and reproached their desertion ; he is even  
 reported, in his extremity, to have turned to the *right*  
*side*, to solicit their protection, but in vain.

Tallien and Billaud poured fresh accusations on his head, with unceasing assiduity. He perceived the world sliding from under him, and that he would be speedily precipitated into the abyss of destruction : " Well !" he exclaimed, in a tone of desperation, " lead me, then, to instant death." " Execrable monster !" said Dumont, with a threatening gesture, " thou hast deserved it an hundred times !" The decree for his accusation was then put, and carried unanimously ; and Couthon and St. Just were added. The younger Robespierre and Lebas insulting the convention, and threatening some of the members, were included in the decree of accusation. The officer who was ordered to take them into custody, and lead them to the committee of public safety, impressed with the habitual respect and fear excited by the presence of Robespierre, hesitated to obey the repeated commands of the president, and would not receive the prisoners till their chief made a sign expressive of his obedience to the law, when they were all led out.

Meantime the rumour of what was doing in the convention spread all over Paris ; Robespierre's partisans lost no time in endeavouring to oppose the rising storm.



CH. XIV storm. The jacobins assembled in their hall, and  
 1794. sent to put the sections of Paris in a state of insurrection. The *tocfin* was founded, the *Grève* covered with armed men, and several pieces of artillery planted on the *Quai Pelletier*, threatening the hall of the convention; the barriers were shut, and Henriot, who had been arrested and had escaped, was indefatigable in collecting an armed force to resist the execution of the decree.

The keepers of the various prisons, participating in the general dread excited by the name of Robespierre, had refused to receive him and the other deputies, who were speedily rescued from their guard, and having opened a sitting at the *hotel-de-ville*, outlawed the national convention. After spending much time in debate, which conspirators of only moderate talents would have employed much more effectually, they sent a part of the armed force, and Henriot at their head, to dissolve the convention.

But that body, convinced that they were struggling for their lives, had, in the time so foolishly wasted by their opponents, concerted measures against them: Legendre had dispersed the jacobin club; seven deputies were sent into the various parts of the city with a proclamation, explaining the true state of things; a decree of outlawry was passed against the commune; and when Henriot, at the head of his troop, made his appearance in the court-yard of the *Tuileries*, they put him also *out of the law*. The effect operated

operated like electricity; his soldiers, panic-struck, CH. XIV.  
1794. refused to obey his orders; the people demanded his arrestation; and he, confused and abashed, hastened to the *hotel de-ville*, to inform his colleagues of his ill success. The convention, seeing the operation of their new engine, proclaimed sentence of outlawry against Robespierre and all his associates, and set a price on their heads.

The seven deputies had succeeded in raising a party of the armed inhabitants of 28th July. Paris in their favour; and with these, reinforced by some soldiers who remained faithful to the national representation, they found themselves able, at about three o'clock in the morning, to march against the commune, having first persuaded the cannoneers at the Quai Pelletier to resist the commands of Henriot, and to join them. The *hotel-de-ville* might have made a powerful resistance, and perhaps turned the tide of success; but the soldiers of the national guard, hearing that the commune and the deputies there assembled were outlawed, refused obedience; the cannoneers were differently disposed, but the curious mob had obtained possession of the gun-carriages, and used them as ladders to enable them to look into the windows of the *hotel-de-ville*, to see how the conspirators behaved in this emergency. Bourdon de l'Oise, having read to the people the proclamation of outlawry, rushed into the *hotel-de-ville*, armed with a sabre and pistols, and followed by a considerable force.

The

CH. XIV. The younger Robespierre leaped out of a window,  
 1794, but was taken up miserably bruised and wounded :  
 St. Just, too pusillanimous to effect his own destruction,  
 besought Lebas to shoot him ; “ Coward,” answered  
 Lebas, “ I have something else to do,” and immediately  
 blew out his own brains : Coffinhal, in a rage,  
 threw Henriot out of a window ; he crept into a common  
 sewer, and was drawn forth, covered with blood  
 and filth, by some soldiers, who beat out one of his  
 eyes : Coffinhal himself escaped, but was, after a few  
 days, betrayed by an intimate friend, and delivered up  
 to judgment : the remaining adherents of Robespierre  
 were captured without difficulty, and he himself was  
 found in one of the apartments of the *hotel-de-ville*,  
 sitting squat against a wall, with a knife in his hand,  
 apparently intended for the purpose of self-destruction,  
 but which he durst not use. A soldier who discovered  
 him, apprehending some resistance, fired two pistols  
 at him, one of which wounded him on the head, the  
 other broke his under jaw ; he was taken and con-  
 ducted before the committee of general security in an  
 arm-chair, his broken jaw bound up with a cloth,  
 passed under his chin, and tied at the top of his head.  
 As he was carried along in this condition, he rested his  
 chin on a handkerchief which he held in his right  
 hand, while the elbow was supported by his left.

A message was sent to the convention, to know if he  
 should be brought to the bar ; but the members unani-  
 mously exclaimed that they would no more suffer their  
 hall



hall to be polluted by the presence of such a monster. CH. XIV.  
 He lay for some hours in an anti-chamber of the com- 1794.  
 mittee of general security, stretched on a table, motion-  
 less, apparently insensible of corporal anguish, though  
 the blood flowed from his eyes, mouth, and nostrils ;  
 but torn with racking recollections, and abandoned to  
 remorse, he pinched his thighs with convulsive agony,  
 and scowled gloomily around the room, when he  
 fancied himself unobserved. After enduring, in this  
 situation, the taunts of all who beheld him, he was  
 replaced in the arm-chair, and carried to the hospital,  
 called the *hotel Dieu*, where his wounds were dressed  
 merely to prolong his existence, and from thence was  
 sent to the prison of the Conciergerie.

He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal  
 the same day, together with his accomplices, in  
 number twenty-one ; and as they were all out of the  
 law, the identification of their persons alone was ne-  
 cessary, and sentence of death was demanded against  
 them by their former friend and creature, Fouquier  
 Tinville, the public accuser.

In the evening of the same day, at about five o'clock,  
 they were conducted to the place of execution, amidst  
 the acclamations of numerous spectators, who con-  
 sidered the procession before them as the earnest of  
 future happiness. The streets, the windows, and the  
 roofs of the houses, were crowded ; even the guard  
 who escorted them partook of the general transport,  
 and, which they were never before known to do,  
 joined

CH. XIV. joined the cry of *Vive la convention!* A group of  
 1794. women stopped the carts, and danced around them to testify their joy.

During this fatal progress, Robespierre, pale and disfigured, held down his head on his breast, and never looked up except once, when a woman, decently dressed, approached the cart, and uttered those heart-piercing exclamations and deep-drawn maledictions, which put it almost beyond conjecture that she was a mother whom his cruelty had deprived of a son, or a widow from whom he had snatched her husband. At hearing her horrible denunciations, Robespierre turned his eyes languidly towards her, and shrugged up his shoulders. He suffered last but one: when he was about to be tied to the fatal plank, the executioner snatched the dressing from his broken jaw, which immediately fell, and a profusion of blood gushed out; the horrible chasm occasioned by the width of his mouth, owing to this accident, rendered his head, when severed from his body and held up to public view, a most terrible and disgusting spectacle.

On the ensuing day, the triumph of the  
 29th. convention was secured by the execution *en masse* of the sixty-two members of the commune, who had also been decreed out of the law\*.

\* Biographical Memoirs, articles Robespierre, Henriot; and Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis, vol. XII. and par Desadourts, vol. V.

T. Davison, Printer, White-friars.











**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

---

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY**

---

DC	Adolphus, John
37	The history of France from
A33	the year 1790 to the peace
v.1	concluded at Amiens in 1802

